



Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Bankura

1917—1924

by

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Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Bankura.

CHAPTER I.

The district.

Boundaries and divisions.—The district of Bankura lies between 22°38' and 23°38' North Latitude and between 86°36' and 87°46' East Longitude. The total area of the district is 2,647 square miles. Its greatest length from Bagulia in the north to Poshda in the south is 68 miles, and its greatest breadth from Bhurudanga in the west to Kharsi in the east is 74 miles.

The district is roughly triangular in shape, its base resting on the Manbhum district of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, and its apex on the junction between the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly. It belongs to the Burdwan Division, and is the most westerly district of the Province of Bengal as at present constituted.

The river Damodar, the whole of whose bed falls within the district of Bankura, forms its northern boundary and separates it from the Burdwan district. This is the only natural boundary. Bankura is bounded on the west by the district of Manbhum, on the east by the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly, and by the Midnapore district on the south.

For administrative purposes it is divided into two subdivisions, the Sadar subdivision on the west which includes about two-thirds of the total area and the Bishnupur subdivision on the east which comprises the remaining third. The Sadar subdivision is divided into nine thanas—Raipur, Simlapal, Ranibandh, Khatra, Chhatna, Indpur, Ganga-jalghati, Barjora, Taldangra, Onda, and Bankura; the Bishnupur subdivision into eight—Sonamukhi, Patrasair, Indas, Kotalpur, Siromanipur, Joypur, Bishnupur and Radhanagar.

Bankura forms the connecting link between the alluvial plains of Bengal on the east and the Chota Nagpur plateau on the west. To the east, adjoining Hooghly and Burdwan, it resembles those districts, the soil is alluvial and the country a flat expanse of rich paddy-fields. Towards the centre of the district

the country becomes more broken, patches of laterite, sometimes covered with sal jungle, make their appearance. Further west the country becomes still more rugged and undulating as it approaches the Chota Nagpur plateau. Rocks crop out, and towards the south hills appear, the most easterly of the Manbhum range.

Roughly the administrative division of the district follows the physical division. The Sadar subdivision has the characteristics of Chota Nagpur, the Bishnupur subdivision those of Bengal proper. The division is not only one of physical features but also of population, of habits and customs, and even of land tenures. In the west the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes predominate, become less numerous in the centre, and vanish altogether on the eastern fringe of the district, and indeed in the Bishnupur subdivision these tribes are to be found only in few and scattered villages.

2. Physical features.—The west of the district, which formed part of the Jungle Mahals, was once covered with impenetrable jungle. Much of the jungle has now been cleared, and in the north in thana Saltora but little remains. Further south the jungle area increases, and in the extreme south-west the country is a dense virgin forest with few clearances which stretches far south into the district of Midnapore. Wild animals abound in these forests and even elephants are sometimes found. The smaller animals and birds are, however, fast becoming exterminated owing to the love of hunting which is inherent in the Santals and other aboriginal races. The jungle area decreases towards the east but even in the Bishnupur thana large expanses of sal jungle are still to be found.

In the east, in the Bishnupur subdivision, the country is flat and uninspiring, and the scenery is especially monotonous in the cold weather after the rice crop has been cut. Further west, towards the town of Bishnupur, the red laterite soil makes its appearance and forms large expanses of upland among the paddy-fields. The uplands are covered with sal jungle interspersed with open stretches of uncultivated land. Here

the country becomes undulating and broken and the scenery picturesque. Further west still the scenery becomes wilder and the jungles denser and more frequent. Rocks crop out, the uplands are covered with stones, and the undulations become more and more marked. Mounds make their appearance here and there, and between the uplands in the valleys stretches of paddy-fields.

The hamlets become smaller and more isolated and are scarcely to be found in the wild forest tracts of the west. The west of the district touches only the fringe of the Chota Nagpur plateau, and the range of hills which here meets the eye lies beyond the border in Manbhum. But in the south-west in thanas Raipur and Khatra a range of hills rises steeply from the plains. Hills low indeed but beautifully shaped and situated, clad with stunted sal jungle interspersed with larger trees. Here the landscape is beautiful and steep mountain paths wind picturesquely among the forests and the hills. In the distance rise the loftier hills of Manbhum.

3. Geological structure.—The geological structure of the district has been described in the Geological Survey of India by Mr. Oldham.

It may be noted that the greater portion of the district consists of a rolling country covered by laterite and alluvium. To the east is a wider plain of recent alluvium, while to the west are found gneissose and submetamorphic rocks. Metamorphic rocks occur only in the extreme west, but exposures are not numerous. They consist chiefly of gneiss, sometimes horn-blendic, associated with mica schist and vein quartz. Here gneiss is invariably the underlying rock of the laterite.

The laterite which is found all over the district is of a low level detrital type. It contains pebbles of quartz, and often of other rocks also, but chiefly of quartz. It is quarried to a considerable extent for road metalling and to a smaller extent for building purposes. Many of the ancient temples in the district, and all those within the fort at Bishnupur, are built of laterite rock. This rock is easy to cut when first dug, and becomes hard and tough after exposure to the air, while it is very little acted on by the weather.

A quartzose gritty rock suitable for paving is found in the hills of Susunia and Kora. It was quarried for some

time at Susunia by the Bengal Stone Company, but the cost of transport proving excessive the business has now been abandoned.

4. Minerals.—Minerals of various kinds are to be found in the district and these have been prospected.

In 1918 Dr. W. Choudhury prepared a report for the Bengal Clays and Minerals Syndicate, which had purchased a mining concession in parganas Raipur, Ambikanagar and Shyam-sundarpur. As a result of his enquiry Dr. Choudhury came to the conclusion that the minerals have, practically speaking, no commercial value whatever.

Chinese clay (*ghutin kaolin*) is found in considerable quantities especially near Tamsole, but has not been found to repay the expense of working. It is locally used, in particular by the Santals, for whitewashing houses. A low grade of iron, said to have been formerly used by the local blacksmiths, is found in the hills surrounding Sootan and in many places in Ranibandh thana.

Muscovite mica has also been found in certain areas in Raipur and Ranibandh thanas, but the plates are too small to be of any commercial value. Specimens of wolfram, said to be of good quality, have been found around Satnala, but no company has been found to exploit it commercially.

Gold is found in minute quantities in the beds of the Kasai and of the Kumari rivers. Dhoyras wash the sand in the beds of these rivers for gold dust, and are able to earn thus a few annas daily. Copper also is to be found in thana Ranibandh.

Coal is worked in the extreme north of the district on the banks of the river Damodar, and the seam is presumably a continuation of the Raniganj coal-field. But the coal is of very poor quality, is used almost exclusively for local consumption, and the outturn hardly repays the working of the mines. These coal-mines are three in number and are situated in Kalikapur, Banskundi and Harispur.

5. Jungles.—The uplands are still covered in many parts with low jungle sometimes very thick. This scrub jungle is intermixed in the south and west of the district with trees of larger growth.

In the central portions of the district nothing but stunted jungle, sakooa or sal (*Shorea robusta*) now remains, all else

having given way to the axe of the woodman or to the zeal of the charcoal burner. The vitality of the sal is indeed amazing. It is capable of resisting the worst possible treatment and not only of surviving but even of flourishing. The jungles are the property of the proprietors or sometimes of the permanent tenure-holders under them. The only rights which the tenants possess are those of grazing their cattle in the jungles and of gathering fallen branches for firewood and leaves. The Santals do a considerable business in these leaves, the women collecting them and fashioning them into drinking vessels, the leaves being stitched together by means of pointed sticks. The women then bring huge bundles of these drinking vessels for sale in the bazars.

Ordinarily the landlords let out the jungles in blocks to ijaradars, the latter making a clean sweep of all the trees in the jungle, leaving the stumps to a height of about 2 feet out of the ground. The young sal trees are in much demand for use as poles or props, especially in the coal-mines. Many of the landlords derive a considerable proportion of their income from jungles.

This wasteful and uneconomic system of dealing with the jungles has also had the effect of stunting the growth of the herbage, which in this district is so valuable owing to the lack of grazing lands for cattle. Being deprived of sufficient covering, the herbage grows so scanty and insufficient that the inhabitants resort to the expedient of forcing it by firing the scrub. This they do every year in March and April. Directly after the firing, with the first shower of rain, the grass again shoots up of finer and better quality and affords some nourishment to the cattle. Unfortunately it is just at the time of this annual firing that the sakooa trees are sending forth their new shoots and their growth is effectually retarded. Not only are the forests themselves neglected, but no effort is made to prevent clearance being made by the inhabitants wherever it seems good to them. The uplands are thus being gradually cleared and the soil ploughed up. This the successive rains wash away into the valleys below and leave nothing but a bed of kunkur on which nothing will grow.

6. The river system.—The river system of the district is simple. The main rivers flow from west to east

with a slight inclination towards the south. These rivers are little more than hill streams, and, except in the rains, contain only a trickle of water. After heavy rains, however, they become formidable torrents, the waters rising with extraordinary rapidity in a few hours. The volume of water which rushes down at such times is enormous, and in heavy flood it is dangerous and often impossible to cross the river in a ferry boat. In the rains it is no uncommon sight to see long lines of bullock carts drawn up on the bank of the river waiting for the flood to subside. The waters subside almost as quickly as they rise.

In the west of the district the rivers flow between steep well defined banks formed chiefly of kunkur, and laterite rocks crop out here and there. Towards the east the banks are composed mainly of clay and sand. Hence while the course of the rivers has scarcely altered in the west; in the east the bends show frequent slight changes, though the general course of the rivers has remained the same. The beds of these rivers are composed of a coarse sand, while in the west rocks crop out here and there.

The largest river is the Damodar, the sacred river of the Santals, and this forms the northern boundary of the district. It rises in the Behar hills about 60 miles west of Ramgarh, and flows westward along the boundary of the district until it enters Burdwan near the village of Salanpur. It has an average width within the district of 1,623 yards, and its bed has a fall of 3·4 feet per mile. In the rains it is a formidable river, the waters rising to a height of over 20 feet. During the floods the rain water pours off the hills through hundreds of channels into the bed of the river with such suddenness that the waters heap up and form a dangerous head-wave known as "Hurpah Ban" which at times causes loss of life.

The river is subject to violent floods, and for 60 miles from its mouth is protected by high embankments on both sides which have a water-span varying in breadth from 10 chains to half a mile. On the left bank of the river the embankment continues for a further length of 43 miles. The result of these embankments is that the river has been gradually raised by deposit of gravel and sand. The country around has consequently become

subject to frequent inundations and the general condition of the river has deteriorated.

There are no embankments within the district itself but floods sometimes occur. The last great flood was in the year 1320 B.S. when the whole area between the Damodar and the Bodai was submerged and some area even to the south. The villages in this area remained submerged for a full four days and the current was so strong that men and cattle were carried away. In one village, Ajaipur, it is said that only one man was saved alive. The whole of the submerged area was covered with sand and has remained unculturable to this day.

During the flood the waters forced a channel which ran through the village of Narayanpur and joined up the two tributaries of the Damodar, the Sali and the Bodai. The result is that the low-lying area of the adjoining villages of Jaljala, Maherpur and Nahala becomes a vast stretch of water during the rains, on which no crops can grow. The area is locally known as "Hajamat". Formerly it produced excellent paddy but is now lying waste.

As late as the middle of the nineteenth century, up to the time when the East Indian Railway from Calcutta to Raniganj was opened, the transport of coal from Raniganj was by means of the river. The river was formerly navigable throughout the year to a distance of about 90 miles from its mouth; as a result of the gradual silting up of the river bed it is now navigable for about 25 miles only.

The Damodar, as has been remarked above, is the sacred river of the Santals, who, after they have burned their dead, bring a small portion of the skull and cast it into the waters of the river. Until this is done the burial ceremony is not complete nor can the spirit of the departed find rest and happiness.

The main tributaries of the Damodar are the previously mentioned rivers Bodai and Sali.

The Bodai is actually a new course of the main river, through which the waters now principally flow.

The Sali rises a few miles to the west of the Kora hill and falls into the Damodar at Samsar village. This river drains a large portion of thanas Sonamukhi and Patrasair, and in its lower reaches is dammed and used for irrigation purposes.

Through the centre of the district flows the Darkeswar, a river of considerable size having an average breadth within the district of 382 yards. This river flows almost straight from west to east and divides the district into two nearly equal parts. After entering Midnapore the river becomes large and navigable and is known as the Rupnarain. Its principal tributaries are the Gandeswari, which meets it just to the east of the town of Bankura, and the Berai, which joins the main river near Bishnupur.

Further south the Selai flows through Simlapal thana and is joined by its tributary the Jaikhal just outside the eastern boundary of the district.

In the extreme south the Kasai, a considerable river, drains thanas Raipur and Ranibandh. Its principal tributary is the Bhairabanki, so called on account of its very tortuous course.

Besides these main rivers there are countless khals and smaller streams, so that the country is well drained and seldom becomes water-logged.

These rivers and khals serve the purpose of giving a supply of good drinking water to the villages which lie close to their banks; little use is, however, made of them for irrigation purposes, partly on account of the steepness of their banks and on account of the small volume of water which runs over their beds except in times of flood, and partly on account of the undulating nature of the country.

The Sali river which flows through level paddy-fields in Patrasair thana is an exception; and it is the practice to dam the lower reaches of this river and thereby to irrigate a considerable area.

7. Communications.—The main railway in the district is a branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway running from Kharagpur to Gomoh. The railway was built in 1902 to connect the Jherriah coal-fields with Calcutta, and has done much to open up the district, to promote trade, and to mitigate the terrors of a crop shortage. Before the building of this railway the nearest railway communication was from Raniganj.

A proposal was made some years ago, and administratively sanctioned, to build a chord line from Howrah to Bankura, meeting the present line at Bishnupur. This project would have the effect of bringing Bankura into closer

communication with Calcutta, but up till now, lack of funds has prevented its materialisation.

A small light railway, serving the north-east of the district and known as the Bankura-Damodar Light Railway, was completed as recently as 1917 and runs from Bankura through Sonamukhi and Patrazair to Indas and beyond through the Burdwan district to the river Damodar. The idea which prompted the building of this railway appears to have been to tap the rich paddy lands of Indas and Khandaghose. The railway runs for a great part of its length through jungles and sparsely populated areas, and it is difficult to see how its promoters, however optimistic, can have expected it to be a financial success.

The district is, on the whole, well served with roads, many of them of considerable antiquity as a glance at Major Rennell's map, published in 1779, will show. Indeed in the Sadar subdivision the making of roads is a matter of no great difficulty. The laterite soil forms an excellent foundation; kunkur is ready to hand, and metalling can easily be obtained from the hills.

This fact coupled with the fact that the Sadar subdivision is the pleasantest, the healthiest and the most interesting part of the district, has resulted in the construction of an almost unnecessary number of metalled roads in this subdivision while the Bishnupur subdivision has been starved. This is both unfair and unfortunate. The Bishnupur subdivision forms the most populous and the most fertile part of the district. Not only therefore is a greater proportion of the road cess collected from this subdivision, but the traffic here is also more considerable. Again in the Sadar subdivision, where the soil is laterite, a bullock cart can easily move across the uplands, even in the rains, without any kind of road at all. In the Bishnupur subdivision on the other hand the soil is clayey and sandy, and after a heavy fall of rain the kutcha roads become impassable for bullock carts, the help of coolies being necessary to enable them to progress at all.

Even in the Sadar subdivision the rivers are all unbridged. The headquarters station is surrounded on three sides by rivers and in the rains it is almost impossible for Government officers to tour.

No improvement is to be hoped for. The district is a very poor one, and the

income of the District Board is small. Saddled as it is with all kinds of new expenditure it finds itself quite unable even to maintain the roads which at present exist far less to make any improvements.

There are two improvements which appear to me of paramount importance if the district is to progress. One, a bridge across the Darkeswar which will connect the headquarters station with the south of the district; the other, the metalling of the last 5 miles of the Bishnupur-Kotalpur road. This road is the old trunk road running from Calcutta to the north-west and is by far the most important road in the district, but its usefulness is greatly impaired by the fact that it is not metalled throughout its length.

Besides this the two most important roads in the district are those running, one from Raniganj to Midnapore and thence to Puri, and the other from Bankura to Burdwan. Both these roads were constructed in the early part of the nineteenth century by means of convict labour at trifling cost. The cost of the earth work of the former road, we are told, was at the rate of Rs. 25 per mile of road.

The Raniganj-Midnapore road is a provincial road and is maintained by the Public Works Department and is kept in excellent order. With the opening of the light railway the Bankura-Burdwan road has lost much of its importance, and the traffic along this road is not now very considerable.

Of the more modern roads the following are the most important, that from Bishnupur to Sonamukhi, from Bankura to Khatra, from Bankura to Raipur, from Chhatna to Mejhia, from Gangajalghati to Saltora, and from Saltora to Mejhia. All these are metalled roads.

There are also innumerable unmetalled roads, many of which were constructed during the famine operations. So numerous indeed are the roads that the District Board, as has been noticed before, is unable properly to maintain them all.

The remarks made with regard to roads apply with equal force to inspection bungalows. With those the Sadar subdivision is amply supplied, while west of Bishnupur there is only one very inferior inspection bungalow situated at Kotalpur.

It is clear, therefore, that in times past the east of the district, which is really the most important part, has not received its fair share of attention or inspection from Government officials, nor, without better facilities for touring, can it expect to receive its fair share of attention in the future.

CHAPTER II.

The People.

8. **Population.**—At the recent census taken in 1921 the total population of the district was found to be 1,019,941. The area of the district, as measured during the settlement operations, is 2,647 square miles. For the whole district, therefore, the incidence of the population is 385 to the square mile. The population is, of course, more scanty in the jungle areas of the west and south-west than in any other part of the district, but not in a single thana does the incidence rise as high as 600 persons to the square mile. In the thana of Rani-bandh, of which the area is mainly jungle, the incidence of population falls as low as 255 to the square mile, while the most thickly populated thana is the Sadar thana of Bankura, which holds a population of 585 to the square mile. The incidence of population in thanas Kotalpur and Siromanipur is only 576 and 582 to the square mile, respectively.

That the fertile plains in the east bordering the populous districts of Hooghly and Burdwan and comprising thanas Indas, Kotalpur, Patrasair, Siromanipur and Joypur should be so thinly populated is a matter which requires some explanation, and I have prepared a table (Appendix I) to show the population as it stood in each thana of the district according to the census figures at the end of each decade since 1881. A glance at these figures will show the seriousness of the situation.

In the district as a whole there was a slight increase in population during each decade from 1881 to 1911, during the last decade there has been a considerable decrease. According to the census figures indeed the population of the district to-day is actually less than it was in 1881. The state of things in the Bishnupur subdivision is even more depressing. In this subdivision every decade except that from 1891-1901, has shown a decrease and the present population of the subdivision is 325,499 as

against 394,500 in 1881. The most disturbing factor in the figures obtained at the recent census is that they show an actual decrease in the population of every thana in the district. The average decrease in the Sadar subdivision is 7 per cent., in the Bishnupur subdivision 16.9 per cent., and for the whole district 10.4 per cent.

If we compare the recent census figures for the whole Province with those of former decades, we find that in no division is the proportionate increase in the population so small as it was during the last decade, while in the Burdwan Division, in which Bankura lies, there is an actual decrease in the population of every district except Howrah. The latter is an urban district and cannot, therefore, form a basis for comparison with mufassal districts. It is true that the decrease in the population is greatest in the Bankura district, but Birbhum comes a very good second with a decrease of 9.4 per cent. The conclusion seems inevitable that some special causes were at work to produce these gloomy results, and I do not think that I shall be wide of the mark if I attribute them to the series of epidemics which devastated this part of the Province during the War, culminating in the terrible influenza epidemic of 1918-19. The loss of life in the cold weather of that year was enormous as the vital statistics (printed as Appendix II) will show. Vital statistics are notoriously inaccurate but they give some indication of the heavy death-rate, and the preponderance of deaths over births during those two years. Since the publication of the census figures much has been written and spoken about the decreasing population in the districts of the Burdwan Division, and Bankura has been described as a dying district. Such a description is, I think, unnecessarily depressing and the figures of the last census may be taken to be due to causes which will not ordinarily recur.

It may be noted that the decrease in population, though general throughout the district, varies greatly in the different thanas. In the thanas of Bishnupur subdivision it reaches the enormous average of 17 per cent., and in thana Onda it is little less, in the Sadar thana of Bankura, on the other hand, the decrease is less than 2 per cent.

The eastern thanas of the Bishnupur subdivision have long been regarded as among the most malarious in the

Province. This unenviable reputation is gradually extending to all the thanas of the subdivision, and the same applies to thana Onda. In the whole of this area malaria rages year after year, and unless drastic steps are taken to ameliorate conditions there is little hope that succeeding decades will show anything but a continued decrease in the population. It is difficult to understand why malaria should be prevalent in the Bishnupur subdivision where the country is open. The west of the district is healthy, and the town of Bankura has long been famed as a health resort. Here the undulating country and the laterite soil afford good drainage, but in the east the soil is alluvial and the country becomes easily water-logged in the rains, and this perhaps accounts to some extent for the unhealthiness of the area.

It is true that the people have not yet learned the elements of sanitation or of decent living. The village sites in the Bishnupur subdivision are usually thick with tropical jungle and under growth, the houses are closely packed together, and are for the most part wretched hovels. The only source of ventilation is the door and even this remains closed during the night. Each house possesses its own little evil-smelling *doba* or tank, excavated to make the foundations when the house was built, and each household cherishes its own manure heap within the compound. A more unpleasant state of living can hardly be imagined, and it is of the first importance that the people should be taught to pay some attention to sanitation and to hygiene. Besides all this most of the villages have to depend on a dirty stagnant tank to provide drinking water, and it is only those who live close to the rivers who are able to obtain good water for drinking. It is, therefore, perhaps hardly to be wondered at that malaria stalks unchecked through the country.

In the Sadar subdivision, though signs are not wanting that it is no longer the health resort of former days, a very different state of things prevails. The population is more scanty and the villages are less crowded. The country is dry and the village sites usually occupy a commanding position. From the nature of the soil the water is far less tainted than it becomes further east.

The people themselves afford a good indication of the difference between the two areas. In the Bishnupur subdivision the people miserable, emaciated, stunted

and suffering from swollen spleen are physically incapable of doing a good day's work. In the west they are on the whole strong and hardy.

9. **Emigration.**—In years gone by there was a considerable emigration from the district, chiefly of Santals, both to the coal areas of Asansol and Jherria and also to the tea gardens of Assam. This permanent emigration has almost ceased. A certain number of Santals from Saktora thana is still recruited for the Asansol colliery area just across the river Damodar, but from other parts of the district recruitment has almost ceased. The Santal is attached to his home and will not leave it except for reasons of dire necessity.

There is, however, still a considerable temporary emigration. In the latter half of December Santals, Bauris and kindred peoples after harvesting their own crop, go in large numbers *purab* or *namal*, that is to the districts of Hooghly and Burdwan, in search of work. They can be seen marching along the road at this time of the year with their wives, their children and their household goods. They are attracted by the wages which they receive in these districts for doing the work of harvesting and, when they return after two or three months, the wages which they have earned go far to pay their rent and the interest which they owe on money borrowed from the mahajan.

10. **Population mainly agricultural.**—Bankura, probably the most backward district in Bengal, is almost exclusively agricultural. The three municipalities of which the district can boast, are unprogressive and of no commercial importance. The income of these municipalities is small, collections are bad, and improvements are seldom effected. Only in the Bankura Municipality is any attempt made to provide a water-supply; for this municipality water is pumped up from the Gandeswari river, but even here only a small part of the municipality is supplied.

The town population has remained almost stationary as the annexed table will show, and at present there are no signs of any increase.

Year.	Bankura Municipality.	Bishnupur Municipality.	Sonamukhi Municipality.
1881	18,747	18,863	5,590
1891	18,743	18,190	13,462
1901	20,737	19,090	13,448
1911	23,453	20,478	13,275
1921	25,406	19,398	10,644

It will be seen that the population of these municipalities does not exceed 5 per cent. of the total population of the district. The remainder live in villages which are mostly small and scattered.

Of a total population of 1,019,941, no less than 805,170 or 79 per cent. are dependent on the land for their livelihood. Of these 32,874 are dependant on income from land, while 752,225 are ordinary cultivators. Of the latter again 215,234 are labourers, while 536,991 live by the cultivation of their own land, out of whom 179,827 are shown as actual workers, and 357,164 as dependents.

Of all those who live by agriculture only 7,189 have also subsidiary occupations, mainly weaving.

Others who get their livelihood from the land are shepherds and keepers of cattle who number 17,191, and those who live by fishing and hunting, mainly aborigines in the jungly tracts, who number 12,434.

The principal industry in the district is the weaving industry. There is a considerable amount of cotton weaving, but the cloth made is very coarse and is used locally only. At the time of the census 19,563 persons were returned as cotton weavers principally from Bankura, Bishnupur and Barjora thanas, but the women do a certain amount of weaving throughout the district for their own use.

The silk industry flourished in Bishnupur in the time of the Bishnupur Rajas, and the industry was then in close touch with Murshidabad. It decayed later, but received considerable impetus at the time of the famine of 1916, when the weaving industry, and especially the cotton weaving, was organised on a proper commercial basis. This organisation still continues, and the Bankura weavers are fairly prosperous. The principal centres of the silk industry are Bishnupur, Birsingha in Joyrampur thana, Changdoba in Joypur thana, Sonamukhi, Madanmohanpur and Banamara in Kotalpur thana. Both pure and tassar silk is manufactured, and the *saris*, *dhotis* and *chadars* which are produced are strong, durable and cheap and the designs are often quite artistic. The number of persons shown as silk weavers at the last census is 3,240.

Bell-metal workers number 7,821 and are to be found in thanas Bankura,

Simlapal, Siromanipur, Kotalpur and Patrasair. The manufactures are for local use only.

Five thousand nine hundred and seventeen persons are shown as jewellers, and are to be found mainly in the Onda and Bishnupur thanas, while 2,562 persons are enumerated as makers of bangles. These live mostly in Onda thana. Basket work is done in thanas Onda and Kotalpur, and 7,510 persons are shown as engaged in this industry. Flour grinders number 12,154, iron-workers 4,608, and potters 4,844. These are to be found throughout the district. Coal-miners in the mines in Saltora and Mejhia thanas number 2,202.

The number of petty tradesmen of all kinds is large, for there is a shop to be found in every village; 34,248 persons are shown under this head.

The number of mahajans is large, though few are shown under that heading in the census tables. Almost every considerable tenure-holder is also a mahajan, and, in the south-west especially the Sunris combine the business of a petty tradesman with that of money-lending.

11. Religion and castes.—A distribution of the population of the Bankura district into religions is not altogether an easy matter. Originally no doubt the bulk of the population, composed of aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes, was Animist, and an Animist religion continued to have a strong hold on the people of west and central Bankura until modern times. With the coming of the Bengalis there has been a gradual tendency for these tribes to call themselves and to consider themselves Hindus. An exception must be made in the case of the Santals and such tribes as the Kheriyas, the Koras and the Mahtos. These latter, who are rapidly dying out in this district, are inhabitants of the jungles and have consequently kept their ancient customs and religion untouched by outside influences. The Santals, too, resent the presence of the foreigners, and have for the most part preserved their old religion as well as their separate language. In recent times, however, a not inconsiderable number of Santals have associated and even inter-married with Bengalis, and have adopted to some extent the Hindu religion and now call themselves Hindus. The real fact is that the aborigines and the Bengalis who have settled among them have

mutually influenced one another with the result that each has adopted some of the customs and some of the religious observances of the other. In the jungly areas in the south and west of the district, trees and other natural objects are worshipped by aboriginal and Bengali alike.

As enumerated at the recent census the population according to religions is given as follows: 880,525 persons are classified as Hindus, 46,508 as Mahomedans, 91,483 as Animist and 1,425 as Christians.

12. Castes.—The list below shows the numbers of the principal castes in the district according to the recent census :—

Santals	..	..	..	104,912*
Bauris	..	..	..	95,851
Brahmins	..	..	..	94,592
Telis	..	..	..	64,575
Goalas	..	..	..	62,925
Bagdis	..	..	..	55,057
Sadgopes	..	..	..	43,016
Lohars	..	..	..	41,486
Sunris	..	..	..	26,119
Rajputs	..	..	..	26,081
Tantis	..	..	..	24,283
Karmakars	..	..	..	19,607
Kurmis	..	..	..	19,591
Kalus	..	..	..	19,456
Tambulis	..	..	..	18,871
Kayasthas	..	..	..	18,663
Chashi Kaibartas	..	..	..	18,648
Baishnabs	..	..	..	18,429
Bhumijes	..	..	..	16,249
Jaliya Kaibartas	..	..	..	14,306
Doms	..	..	..	13,671
Gandha Baniks	..	..	..	12,840
Napits	..	..	..	11,178
Mals	..	..	..	11,092
Muchis	..	..	..	10,980

* Of these 13,880 returned themselves as Hindus.

Bankura more than any other district in the province, is the home of the aboriginals. In olden times in the jungle tracts of the west aboriginals formed the sole population; the more open area of Bishnupur to the east was known as the land of the Mals, and was in former times also inhabited mainly by aboriginals. To this day the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes form a large and important element in the population.

13. The Santals.—Of all these tribes the Santals are the most numerous and the most interesting. They form the bulk of the population in the north, the south and the west of the district in thanas Saltora, Chhatna, Khatra, Raipur, Ranibandh, Simlapal and Tal-dangra.

Of the origin of the Santals and their first coming to the district little is known, but it may be asserted with some confidence that they were not the original

dwellers in the western jungles. Perhaps the Bhumijes, whom we find as Sirdars of the jungle ghats, were in occupation when the Santals came. Originally a wandering tribe, hunting the jungles and cultivating a small portion of the jungle for a year or two and then moving on, it is possible that the anxiety of the landlords to secure tenants in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the easy terms which they offered in consequence were contributory causes which induced the permanent settlement of the Santals on the land as cultivators. Their present fixity of residence, the love which they have for their homes and their disinclination to leave them in search of better prospects elsewhere are matters of surprise to the intelligent observer and of chagrin to the recruiting agents for the tea gardens and the coal-mines. Some temporary emigration there is to the east (*purab*) to the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly. The Santals leave their homes at the end of December or beginning of January after they have harvested their own crop and return in April or May in time to plough their lands. But permanent emigration is infrequent.

Among the Santals when they first settled in the district there existed a very complete form of village community under the headman or *manjhi* through whom the rents were paid. Each village was self-supporting and had few dealings with the outside world.

To the Santals must be given the credit for having brought under cultivation the major portion of what now forms the Sadar subdivision of the district, with what tremendous labour, a glance at the terraced paddy-fields in any village will show. Formerly indeed the whole countryside belonged to the Santals and the position which they once occupied is evident from the fact that many of the villages in the west are still named after Santals (*e.g.*, Tamsole, Debasole, Kalesole, Arjunpara, Amritpal, etc.) though the villages themselves have long since passed out of their hands and are now possessed by Bengalis. Even in the jungle parganas of Shyamsundarpur and Phulkusma in the west hardly a Santal Mandal remains. Almost all have given way to Bengalis. Not only have the Santal Mandals been ousted from the position which they have once occupied, but the Santal villagers have been to a large extent dispossessed of their lands.

What lands they now hold are mostly highlands which afford but a poor crop, or in years of drought, no crop at all, and the Santals have been reduced to a position little removed from serfdom under their new Bengali masters.

The great famine of 1272 B.S. was the first cause of their ruin. Some emigrated and many, being forced to alienate their lands, were reduced to the position of under-raiyats and bhagidars. The ruin of the Santals is due to the fact that, simple, ignorant and unsuspecting as they were, they were unable to cope with the wiles of the cunning, unscrupulous and more civilised Bengali. And the latter was able to turn the law to his advantage to protect him in the possession of what he had won sometimes by cunning and often by fraud. The story is a tragic one. No sooner had the Bengalis secured a footing in the country than the dispossession of the Santals was inevitable. The various means by which the Santals were dispossessed may be briefly stated :

I. The Bengali came in as a tenure-holder between the landlord and the village community. This he did in two ways. Either he secured a lease from the landlord making him an intermediate tenure-holder between the landlord and the Santals, or he got the Mandal into his power and bought him out, taking possession of his *man* lands. In the latter case the Bengali would arrogate to himself the position of a tenure-holder, a position which the Santal Mandal never claimed. In both cases the Bengali would enhance the rents of the Santal tenants, with the eventual result that many of them were sold up.

II. The Bengali settled in the village as a grain-dealer and mahajan. It was no difficult matter to get the Santal into his power. Sometimes loans of grain were really required owing to drought and consequent failure of crops, sometimes the Santal took loans, which were so readily granted, merely to give feasts to his fellow-villagers. In either case a comparatively small loan with compound interest soon reached such dimensions that the Santal

could never hope to repay, with the result that the land was sold up.

III. In many cases the Bengalis appear to have resorted to deliberate fraud, secure in the knowledge that the Santal, unable to read or write, would be ignorant of the contents of the document he was executing. Thus Santals were induced to execute *kabalas* in return for loans or sometimes for no consideration at all, and much of their lands fell into the hands of the mahajans. Sometimes in return for loans the Santals handed over their lands in usufructuary mortgage. No deed was executed, and on the expiry of the period the mahajan refused to give up the land.

All went well at first. The Santals were overjoyed at being able to secure loans so easily. But the crash was not long in coming, and the Santal found to his utter astonishment that the mahajan had been put in possession of the land by order of the Court. In the majority of cases the mahajan would resettle the lands with the original tenants at an enhanced rent and often at a produce rent, keeping the lowlands in his own possession. He would leave the Santal just enough to live on and to prevent him from deserting the village.

Clear though it was in many cases that the Santals had been dispossessed by fraud; it was difficult, if not impossible, to do anything to help them during the recent Settlement operations. Many of the transfers were of long standing and the Santals were definitely out of possession, and the possession of the Bengalis was supported in many cases by registered documents.

In the Santal Parganas the Santal rebellion of 1885 had led to the enactment of special regulations to prevent the dispossession of the Santals, and it is a matter for regret that these regulations were not extended to this district and to Midnapore. As early as 1872 it had been suggested that some special provisions should be enacted for helping the Santals of this area, but it was not until 1909 that Mr. McAlpin was put on special duty to enquire into the condition of the Santals of Birbhum, Midnapore and Bankura and to suggest measures

for ameliorating their condition; and it was not till 1918 that action was taken on his report and provisions were added to the Tenancy Act regulating the transfer of the land of Santals.

It may be conceded that, in an agricultural community such as Bengal, the Santal is a valuable citizen. Strong, healthy, honest and hardworking, he is at the same time both submissive to authority and willing to co-operate with his fellow villagers in works of general utility, while his simplicity, his straightforwardness and his consistent cheerfulness have endeared him to all with whom he has come in contact. Indeed the personnel of the Bankura Settlement feel that they owe a special debt of gratitude to these aboriginals. The work in the jungles of the south-west of the district, which is the principal home of the Santals, was lonely, difficult and sometimes dangerous. It is an easy thing to lose one's way in the jungle, and at night the danger from attacks of wild animals is a very real one. The Santals were always ready to escort an amin to his lodging when the day's work was done or to guide an inspecting officer through the jungle.

During the last few years, however, the Santals have shown a restlessness and a discontent which has taken the form of hât-looting and has caused considerable anxiety to the local officials and to Government. The discontent has no doubt been mainly due to the activities of the non-co-operators and other agitators who find in the simple Santal an easy tool for their purposes. To some extent also this discontent is due to disappointment. The hopes of the Santals were raised to excessive heights, first by the enquiries which were made prior to the passing of the Amendment Act above referred to, and secondly by the commencement of the Settlement operations. It was commonly said by the Santals at this time that they had two great friends in the district, one was the Settlement Officer and the other was the Excise Superintendent. They confidently hoped that the land of which they had been dispossessed would be restored to them, and were quite unable to understand our somewhat feeble announcement that the law would not permit of this desirable consummation.

Instead of being restored to the possession of their lands the Santals found in the new Amendment Act, which

was at length passed in 1918, merely provisions regulating the transfer of their lands. These provisions prohibit, except with the consent of the Collector, any Santal from transferring his land by sale, gift or will to any person whatever, and from leasing or mortgaging his land except to another Santal. In so far as the provisions of the Act tend to preserve to the Santals such land as they still possess they are beneficial and are recognised as such by the Santals themselves. But this is not enough. Situated as they are, the Santals are always on the verge of starvation. In a bad year they have no reserve on which to fall back; they must get grain for food and for seed or starve. The restrictions on transfer make their lands useless as a security for borrowing, and it was one of the main objects of the framers of the Amendment Act to preserve the Santals from the mahajans' clutches. Up to the present, however, no alternative to the mahajan has been forthcoming, and the Santals are bitter in their complaints that the results of the new Act are to make the rates at which they can borrow far higher than formerly.

Mr. McAlpin, in the illuminating report which gave the result of his enquiries into the condition of the Santals, made certain proposals, which, if given effect to, would go far to make the provisions of the Amendment Act a complete success and allay the discontent of the Santals. The first proposal is for the establishment in the Santal area of Co-operative Grain Golas. The Santal has little knowledge of the value of money and the bulk of his transactions are in kind. It has been held, therefore, by competent authorities that money banks, if started in the Santal area, would be likely to prove a failure. There is no such objection to the establishment of Grain Golas. Sympathetically administered they could scarcely but prove a success, and would afford the Santal all the help he needs in times of scarcity and drought. The existence of the Wesleyan Mission at Sarenga would provide the required supervision for that area at least. I cannot too strongly urge the initiation of such a scheme either through local agency or that of the Co-operative Department. The second proposal advanced by Mr. McAlpin was to post to the Santal area officials sympathetic to the Santal and with a knowledge of his language. Such officials are the Munsiff of Khatra, the

Sub-registrars of Raipur and Khatra, and the Circle Officer. The Santal responds at once to kindly treatment and easily opens his heart to one who knows his language. It is, I think, a matter for regret that no action has so far been taken to give effect to these proposals.

Although the Santal village community no longer exists in so far as dealings with outsiders are concerned, the Santals yet preserve their social and religious organisation unimpaired. The village Mandal is still the arbiter in all social and religious matters. Against his decision there is an appeal to the *Parganait* or Pargana Raja, who holds his court yearly at the time of the hunting festivals assisted by four dewans. There is a last appeal to the Sadar Maharaja. The punishments which are inflicted take the form of fines which are paid on the spot and spent in feasting and drinking. The Santal seldom brings a dispute with a brother Santal to the decision of the Courts.

The Santals have kept themselves remarkably free from any admixture with foreign castes, and, unlike the Bauris and Bagdis, will tolerate no intrigues of their women with outsiders. They still use their own language and speak Bengali as a foreign tongue. As is perhaps natural after the treatment which they have received, they regard the Bengali, whom they call "*Dikku*" or foreigner, with hatred and contempt.

The Santal has two joys, hunting and drinking. In the months of February and March Santals for miles around congregate in thousands in the various big jungles which the district contains and spend their days in hunting and their nights in feasting and drinking. It is on these occasions that the *Parganait* decides all religious and social disputes that may come before him.

14. Other aboriginal tribes.—Other aboriginal tribes, Kheriyas, Koras and Mahtos are akin to the Santals. They are, however, to be found in very small numbers in the district and are rapidly dying out. The Kheriyas live only in the jungles and are non-agriculturists.

The Bhumijes, an important tribe in the district before the coming of the Santals, who were also the leaders in many of the disturbances which took place in the beginning of the nineteenth century, are rapidly decreasing in

numbers and importance. They supplied many of the sirdars of the ghats in the days when the ghatwals played a part in the administration of the district. The Bhumijes are now to be found principally in thanas Indpur, Khatra and Ranibandh.

Of the semi-aboriginal tribes by far the most important numerically are the Bauris and the Bagdis. Both now class themselves as Hindus, but traces of totemism still survive. The heron is the emblem of the Bauris and the dog is their sacred animal. The Bauris are to be found mainly in the Sadar and the Bagdis in the Bishnupur subdivision. Both rank very low in the social scale and are for the most part landless men who work as agricultural labourers. The Bauris often work as domestic servants, while the Bagdis are the principal inhabitants of the Bishnupur jungles and have considerable skill in hunting. Unlike the Santals they have no distinctive language of their own, and far from holding themselves aloof from the Bengalis they freely admit men of other castes into their community and tolerate sexual license on the part of their women with men of other castes. Both Bauris and Bagdis are dirty in their persons and in their houses and they have the aboriginal vice of excessive drinking.

Of other tribes of non-Aryan descent the principal are the Haris, the Domes and the Lohars. These are to be found throughout the district and are mainly engaged in menial occupations. The Lohars are the most numerous.

15. Hindus.—Of the Hindus, properly so called, the most important as well as the most numerous are the Brahmans. Two distinct classes of Brahmans are found in the district, the Bengali Brahmans proper, and the Utkal Brahmans.

According to tradition the Utkal Brahmans came over from Orissa with Nakur Jung and Sripati Mahapatra, his spiritual guide, when the south of the district was conquered. They are both numerous and influential in the south-west of the district, especially in the Simlapal thana, where the zamindars of Simlapal and Bhelaidiha belong to this caste.

The Utkal Brahmans are cunning and miserly and many of them have made considerable fortunes out of the original

cultivators by lending money on mortgages and selling up the mortgagors. It is they who are largely responsible for the dispossession of the Santals in this area. Their acquisition of wealth has little effect on their style of living, and they live so wretchedly and meanly that there is little, save the wearing of the sacred thread, to distinguish them from the aborigines among whom they live. Unlike the Bengali Brahmans they will perform all the work of agriculture except the actual handling of the plough. They will drive carts, graze cattle, carry bags of paddy, sell grain, thatch and even build their houses. They get their living by money-lending and by agriculture, and are more feared and hated than any other caste in the neighbourhood.

The Bengali Brahmans are especially numerous in the centre of the district where indeed they form the most numerous caste. They usually occupy the position of small intermediate landlords, many of them being in possession of rent-free grants.

The preponderance of Brahmans over other castes is no doubt due to the generosity of the Bishnupur Rajas, and especially of Gopal Singh and Chaitanya Singh, in the matter of gifts of lands which must have attracted Brahmans from far and wide.

Of other Hindu castes the most important are the Telis, the Goalas and the Sadgops. They are to be found throughout the district, but are most numerous in the central and eastern thanas. In these thanas they form the bulk of the genuine cultivating class.

Sunris and Tambulis are found in considerable numbers in the southern and western thanas, where they have established themselves as grain merchants and money-lenders. They are feared and hated for their harshness and rapacity.

16. **Muhammadans.**—The number of Muhammadans in the district is small. Only 46,401 were enumerated at the recent census. They are to be found mainly in Siromanipur, Indas and Patrasair thanas. In the villages of Rol and Khosbag in thana Indas there live some respectable Muhammadan families owning small resumed *ayema* estates. These families are of considerable antiquity. The Muhammadans in Siromanipur are of evil repute and have long been known as dacoits and thieves. It

was to serve as a check on their evil deeds that a thana was first established at Siromanipur. Of late years they appear to have given up their evil habits.

CHAPTER III.

The employment of the land and agriculture.

17. **Statistics of the employment of land.**—In Appendix III to this report are given thana by thana statistics showing the manner in which the land of the district is employed. These statistics have been compiled from the mauzawar statistics which have been bound in volumes and handed over to the Collector. Similarly in Appendix IV to the report will be found the crop statistics for the district thana by thana.

The following table gives at a glance the proportionate areas in each thana which are cultivated, culturable but not cultivated, and unfit for cultivation:—

Thana name.	Area in square miles.	Percentage of total area.		
		Culti- vated.	Cultur- able.	Uncultur- able.
SADAR SUBDIVI- SION.				
Raipur ..	227	57	21	22
Simlapal ..	119	40	25	35
Ranibandh ..	166	44	27	29
Khatra ..	167	54	26	24
Chhatna ..	173	45	25	30
Indpur ..	116	48	26	26
Mejhia ..	63	36	29	35
Saltora ..	121	44	34	22
Gangajalhati ..	144	44	29	27
Barjora ..	145	40	23	37
Bankura ..	157	46	22	32
Onda ..	198	42	32	26
Taldangra ..	135	39	41	20
Total of Sadar Sub- division.	1,931	45	27	28
BISHNUPUR SUB- DIVISION.				
Kotalpur ..	73	73	7	20
Sonamukhi ..	105	47	8	45
Bishnupur ..	95	28	20	52
Patrasair ..	104	52	13	35
Joypur ..	51	50	11	39
Indas ..	98	72	4	24
Siromanipur ..	59	71	6	23
Radhanagar ..	127	41	8	51
Total of Bishnupur Subdivision.	712	52	10	38
Total of District ..	2,643	47	22	31

(Apparent discrepancies are due to omission of decimals.)

The figures are interesting as showing the comparatively small percentage of the district which is under cultivation. This percentage is probably considerably smaller than in any other district in the Province. In Eastern Bengal the percentage of cultivated to total area varies from 70 per cent. to 80 per cent. Even in the adjoining district of Midnapore it is as high as 66 per cent. and it is necessary to go to the adjoining Province of Bihar and Orissa to the districts of the Chota Nagpur Division to find a parallel to the conditions obtaining in the Sadar subdivision at any rate. In the Ranchi district the percentage of cultivated to total area is 51 per cent., in the Santal Parganas 50 per cent. and in the Dhalbhum Pargana of the Singhbhum district 33 per cent.

The total area of the district is 2,647 square miles, of which 218 have been classified as water. This includes all tanks not recorded along with the homesteads.

There is an essential difference between the Sadar subdivision with its rolling uplands covered with jungles or forming dry arid wastes, and the level plains of the Bishnupur subdivision. But even in the Bishnupur subdivision the area covered with jungle is large, and it is only in the three thanas of Kotalpur, Indas and Siromanipur in the extreme east that the percentage of cultivated to total area approximates to that of Eastern Bengal districts. Even in the east the percentage of cultivated area is not so great as the nature of the country would lead one to expect, and the only reason for this is to be found in the extreme unhealthiness of the climate in this part of the district.

The amount of good culturable land left fallow is peculiarly noticeable in the Patrasair thana, especially in the rich lands left in the old bed of the Bodai river. The reason given by the people for leaving these lands uncultivated is that they are exposed to the constant ravages of wild pigs. This may indeed be a reason, but such a reason would not be operative in the thickly populated districts of Eastern Bengal, and the real reason is to be found in the unhealthiness of the climate and the gradually thinning population.

It will be seen that the percentage of area shown as culturable but not cultivated is 22 per cent. of the whole for the complete district, and 27 per cent.

for the Sadar subdivision. Of this 22 per cent., 4½ per cent. is classed as "current fallow" and 11 per cent. as "old fallow". In point of fact the classification of fallow lands in the district was difficult, and was not entirely satisfactory or uniform. The arid uplands were classified by some kanungos as culturable fallow, by some as unculturable. Efforts were made to secure uniformity, but in fact classification is not easy as some of the uplands may be said to be possible of cultivation if only irrigation could be provided. But under present conditions these uplands are undoubtedly unculturable, and should, in my opinion, have been so classified. Had this been done uniformly the unculturable area would have been increased at the expense of that shown as culturable.

18. **Jungles.**—Of the land classified as unculturable by far the greatest area is under jungle. The following table will show how the jungle is distributed in the various thanas:—

Thana name.	Total area—		Area under jungle—		Percentage of jungle to total area.
	In acres.	In sq. miles.	In acres.	In sq. miles.	
SADAR SUBDIVISION.					
Raipur ..	145,332	227	23,359.83	36.50	16
Simlapal ..	76,403	119	23,722.16	37.07	31
Ranibandh ..	105,874	166	30,777.09	48.09	29
Khatra ..	106,550	167	20,685.36	32.32	19.4
Chhatna ..	110,688	173	13,613.89	21.27	12.3
Indpur ..	74,192	116	13,842.61	21.63	18.6
Mejhia ..	40,246	63	478.18	0.75	1.1
Saltora ..	77,751	121	6,366.17	9.96	8.2
Gangajalghati	91,694	144	20,609.48	32.29	22.4
Barjora ..	97,193	145	23,916.92	37.37	24.6
Bankura ..	100,952	157	15,838.72	24.75	15.6
Onda ..	124,105	198	35,445.65	55.38	28.5
Taldangra ..	86,421	135	26,282.73	41.07	30.4
Total of Sadar Subdivision.	1,237,401	1,931	254,938.92	398.35	20.6
BISHNUPUR SUBDIVISION.					
Kotalpur ..	46,048	73	18.93	.029	.004
Sonamukhi	67,917	105	11,036.89	16.9	16.2
Bishnupur ..	63,058	95	21,453.65	33.5	34.0
Patrasair ..	66,594	104	7,277.63	11.3	10.9
Joypur ..	33,558	51	8,093.24	12.6	24.1
Indas ..	63,023	98	1.70	..	..
Siromanipur	37,886	59	1,557.54	2.4	4.1
Radhanagar	78,548	127	28,588.45	44.6	36.4
Total of Bishnupur Subdivision	456,632	712	78,028.23	121.8	17.1
Total of District.	1,694,042	2,643	332,967.15	519.6	19.7

(Apparent discrepancies are due to omission of decimals.)

One-fifth of the whole area of the district is covered with jungle, and this jungle is fairly evenly distributed over the various thanas, except Saltora and Mejhia in the north, and Kotalpur, Indas, Siromanipur and Patrasair in the extreme east.

In early days the greater portion of the whole district was covered with thick forest which contained trees valuable for timber. No steps whatever have been taken to protect this most valuable of nature's products. Without restriction cultivators have cleared the jungle to extend their cultivation; without restriction the charcoal burners have plied their trade, and even where the jungle has still remained the trees have been cut down and the jungle levelled to the ground at short recurring intervals without discrimination and without judgment.

The consequence of this *laissez faire* policy is, alas! very apparent. The uplands are rapidly becoming barren, or covered with a low, scrubby, and in some parts very thorny jungle, which is valueless for any purpose but that of firewood. Only in parts of thanas Ranibandh, Raipur and Simlapal are large tree jungles still to be found, and their value is greatly diminished owing to difficulties of transport.

In central Bankura indeed sal jungles (*Shorea robusta*) still remain, and these trees fully deserve their name. In spite of the worst treatment they continue to flourish. But little use is made even of these jungles. They are levelled to the ground every three to five years and the trees are never allowed to attain a fair growth. The evils of this policy react disastrously also on the agriculture of the district. The clearing of the jungle not only affects the rainfall and its distribution, but also proves disastrous to the cultivators themselves. The land which is cleared is too high to yield a satisfactory crop, and in a bad year produces nothing at all. As therefore the cultivators are gradually pushed back and the best of their lands fall into the hands of the mahajans they become dependent for their livelihood on the high lands reclaimed from the jungle and in a bad year early feel the pinch of famine.

For these reasons there is much to be said in favour of State control of these jungles with the object of their reconstitution and reorganisation. There

should be no great difficulty in convincing the landlords that such State control would be entirely in their interests, provided the whole or a fair proportion of the profits were reserved for them.

Even under the present lack of system the landlords derive a considerable portion of their income from jungles. The usual practice is to let out the smaller jungles every fourth year and the larger jungles every fifth year to an ijaradar for a sum fixed by auction. The ijaradar cuts the jungle to the ground and realises out of it what he can. In many cases the landlord reserves certain trees for himself, sometimes one tree in each bigha of land, which he allows to grow to its full size and these big trees are then sold separately. Big sal trees will fetch from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 a piece. As remarked above jungles are sold in a lump every fourth or fifth year, and it has been calculated that the price realised by the landlord works out at from 8 to 12 annas per bigha annually.

19. Crops.—Bankura is exclusively an agricultural district, but of the total area only 796,926 acres or 47 per cent. are under cultivation, the remainder being jungle, river, tanks, roads, etc., or waste lands. The table below will show what crops are grown in the district:—

Name of crop.	Percentage of net cultivated area.
<i>Cereals and pulses.</i>	
Rice—	
Aman	55·2
Aus	34·9
Wheat	·8
Barley	·25
Maize	·8
Gram	·25
Others	4·4
Total	96·6
<i>Oil seeds.</i>	
Linseed	·2
Rape and mustard	·79
Sesamum	·87
Other oil seeds	1·14
Total	3·0
<i>Fibres.</i>	
Jute, cotton and hemp	·28
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>	
Condiments and spices	·2
Sugarcane	·4
Potatoes	·26
Other vegetables	·9
Fruit	1·05
Other food crops	·22
Other non-food crops	·16
Total	3·19
GRAND TOTAL	103·07

NOTE—3 per cent. of the total cropped area is twice-cropped.

Rice which occupies over 90 per cent. of the net cropped area of the district is the only crop of any importance. Winter paddy (*aman*) is grown throughout the district, the summer paddy (*aus*) only in the higher lands in the west. Straw, the bye-product of paddy, is utilised in more ways in Western than in Eastern Bengal. It is commonly used for thatching roofs of houses and for making ropes as well as for food for cattle.

Pulses and oil seeds are grown for local consumption only round about the homesteads of the cultivators, as also are potatoes and vegetables. Potatoes and vegetables are also grown in considerable quantities on the banks of rivers and khals and especially in the north of Barjora thana on the banks of the Damodar river.

Maize is commonly grown in south and west Raipur and in Ambikanagar and is to be found in the land adjoining each homestead. It is the staple food of the Santals and poorer Hindus.

Sugarcane is not a crop which finds favour in the eyes of the poverty-stricken and thriftless people of Bankura. It requires careful and laborious cultivation, it requires frequent manuring, it requires careful and constant irrigation, and finally the cultivator has to wait a full twelve months before he can expect a return for his labour and expense. Such of this crop as is grown is planted on the banks of khals for the facility of irrigation; but is almost always of very poor quality, being of the thin variety, and produces a meagre crop.

20. Climate and rainfall.—The cultivators depend almost entirely on the annual rainfall for the success of their crop. Good distribution of the rainfall is more important than its quantity, and above all the late rains of September and October are needed to bring the winter paddy crop to perfection. This is the principal and most important crop of the district. Unfortunately Bankura is a dry district, and scarcity and unequal distribution of rains are frequent and rendered more so by the gradual clearing of the jungle, so that a partial or total failure of crops occurs every third or fourth year.

From the middle of March to the beginning of June hot westerly winds prevail. The heat during the day is very oppressive and the thermometer

registers a maximum temperature of from 105° to 116° degrees in the shade. Nor'westers are frequent during these months and help to mitigate the excessive heat of the day.

During the rains, which set in usually in the middle of June and last till the end of September, the climate is very pleasant, the temperature being comparatively cool and the atmosphere neither heavy nor damp.

In Appendix V will be found a statement of the monthly rainfall as observed in Bankura for the ten years 1912 to 1921. From this statement it will be seen that with a yearly average of some 60 inches the rainfall has varied from 88 inches in 1919 to 41 inches in 1921.

21. Soils and methods of cultivation.

—In thanas Indas, Kotalpur, Patrasair, Joypur, Siromanipur and part of Sonamukhi the soil is recent alluvium, loamey and clayey. Elsewhere it is sandy loam or laterite gravel. The soil of the highlands is poor, but the lowlands and valleys are fertile and are enriched by detritus washed down from the higher levels. These lowlands afford a rich and productive crop.

The soil has been classified as below for the Sadar subdivision:—

Sol.—The lowest lands in the valleys growing *aman* paddy only. The rain water percolates from the uplands and remains in these depressions with the result that the soil is always moist and produces an excellent crop.

Kanali.—The lands just above the *Sol* lands on the rise of the slope. These lands also produce good winter paddy.

Baid.—Terraced lands higher up the slopes, growing sometimes winter and sometimes summer paddy. These lands are dependent on a good and evenly distributed rainfall for their crop, which fails altogether in a bad year.

Tora or danga.—Unterraced uplands growing an exiguous rabi crop. These lands are of little value.

In the Bishnupur subdivision where the land is level these different classes do not occur; and here the classification is of *Sali* or lands growing paddy only, and *Suna* or lands growing more than one crop.

The usual primitive wooden implements are used for agriculture, and, owing to the poverty of the people, bullocks and even ploughs are often hired or borrowed. Payment is, of course, always made in kind. The cultivator borrows a pair of bullocks and, when returning them, he puts an *ara* of paddy on their backs.

22. Cattle.—Cattle are a difficult problem in the district. The grazing is quite insufficient for them except in the rains, and indeed there is practically no grazing at all to be had except the paddy straw which is left in the fields after reaping. Where jungles exist they are the only grazing grounds, and not only is the jungle area becoming restricted, but the thriftless and unscientific way in which the jungles are allowed to be cut has made even the grazing in the jungles very sparse so that the people have to resort to firing the scrub in order to force the herbage on which the cattle may feed. The cattle themselves are most wretched: Stunted and starved, they are not capable of doing the work both of ploughing and carting.

Bullocks and buffaloes are used both for carting and for ploughing. Only the Santals employ cows for ploughing.

The difficulties in the way of improving the breed are enormous. To import bulls of a good stock in sufficient numbers would be far too expensive. An odd bull here and there would be of little use. It is possible that something may be done in the future through the medium of Union Committees.

Buffaloes are largely used for all purposes especially in the jungle areas of the west, and buffalo milk is an important article of diet.

Pigs are kept by the aborigines and especially by the Bauris.

In the rains when coarse herbage springs up on the highlands large flocks of sheep are brought into the district from up-country to graze.

The goat, which flourishes where most animals would starve, is an important source of income to the lower classes.

23. Labourers.—In this district the number of hired labourers is considerable owing to the fact that the tenure-holders have acquired so much land in their own possession and require labourers to cultivate their khas lands. The people are so poor that there is no lack of hired

labour available. The Bauris as a class exist mainly as labourers and a large proportion of them are landless men. On the khas lands of the proprietors and tenure-holders both male and female labourers are employed. The former are called *munish* and the latter *kamin*.

Payment for labour is always in kind. The daily wage of a *munish* is from 3 to 4 pies of paddy and one pie of *muri* (fried rice); that of a *kamin* is two pies of paddy and one pie of *muri*; of a child half a pie of each.

The female labourers usually collect and transplant the seedlings, the men do the ploughing, and both do the reaping of the crop.

24. Manure.—Manure is fairly extensively used. Each cultivator has a manure pit adjoining his house into which are thrown cowdung, ashes, straw and refuse from the house. This combination, when decomposed makes a fine manure. Silt from tanks is also used, and oil-cakes are sometimes used for sugarcane and potato fields. Bonemeal or chemical manures are not to be met with. They are too expensive.

CHAPTER IV:

Economic condition of the people.

25. General remarks.—As a text on which to base my remarks on the economic condition of the people of Bankura, I may quote an extract from a note recorded by a District Collector in 1920 giving shortly and succinctly his own impressions of the condition of the people entrusted to his care—

“The average cultivator,” he writes, “is heavily in debt. He hands over the greater part of his harvest to his mahajan to meet existing obligations and, as he is usually unable to maintain himself with the balance till the next harvest, he has to borrow again a few months after. He pursues his career of borrowing and repaying from year's end to year's end, always adding to his burden and never making any advance towards release. Placed in this hopeless position it is not surprising that the virtue of thrift does not appeal to him. The condition of the artisan is hardly better. The mahajan advances the raw material, pays the wages and buys the finished article. The workman

would have some reason for gratitude if only he had a voice in fixing the rate of remuneration for these services.....

"As a result wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists, and the best lands are owned by them.....

The agricultural labourer leads a hand to mouth existence. Every year in the slack season he is obliged to migrate for employment to the rice fields in the lowlands (*namal*) (i. e., to Hooghly and Burdwan).

This is a sufficiently gloomy picture of the situation, but in its main outlines it is correct. Year by year the best lands continue to fall into the hands of the mahajans and tenure-holders and the cultivators are being plunged deeper and deeper into debt. In this chapter it is my aim to outline the causes of this distressing state of affairs and to make certain suggestions for its remedy.

Bankura is essentially an agricultural district, and it may be safely asserted that it will so remain, and whatever improvements are to be effected must be in the direction of improvements in agriculture and in the material and economic condition of the agricultural population. The few industries which do exist are of little real importance. The weaving industry indeed received an impetus from the fostering care which it enjoyed during the 1915-16 famine, but it is unlikely that the industry will ever increase to any great extent. The bell-metal industry has failed in competition with the same industry in Midnapore, while the silk industry of Bishnupur, once flourishing, has greatly declined. The lac industry, once of considerable importance in Mejhia thana, was ruined by consecutive years of low prices. A venture in this direction has recently been started in Khatra. This has so far been successful but is only on a small scale. Such industries as are peculiarly suitable to the district should indeed be fostered, but salvation can only lie in increasing the productiveness of the soil.

26. Famine.—Bankura is a famine district. In this respect it is almost unique in the Province. It is true that a famine is no longer a calamity such as it was in former days. The organisation of famine relief has been so perfected that ordinarily no loss of life results, but of necessity widespread suffering and distress, and an amount of disorganisation

are caused, which effectually retard progress. Incidentally famine relief operations are a source of very considerable expense to Government.

In Bankura it may be said that years of famine or scarcity are of regular recurrence, and they have occurred of late with increasing frequency. In days of old deaths from famine were many, and a famine was followed by a material diminution of the population; it was especially the weak and helpless among the population who succumbed, with the result that a recurrence of famine was impossible for some years to come. With the present organisation there is no diminution of the population, and hence a famine will occur whenever there is a failure of rain.

Famines ravaged the district in 1866, 1884, 1897, 1907, 1915 and 1918. They were due to a variety of causes.

In the first place the country is undulating and the soil is porous and does not retain the rain water, so that except in the case of the lowlands the cultivator is dependent not only on the quantity but more especially on the even distribution of the rainfall. Moreover, there is little in the way of trade in the district and almost the whole of the population is dependent, and wholly dependent, on agriculture.

In Bankura, too, the number of mendicants is enormous. Lepers abound and they can support life only by begging. In Bishnupur subdivision the number of Baishnabs is very large. Begging is, unfortunately, considered an honourable condition, and a professional mendicant ranks higher in the social scale than the landless labourer. It is the pious duty of the poorest to give alms to beggars, and in normal times the life of a beggar is one of ease and comfort. But when the pinch begins to be felt the beggar is no longer fed. There exists, therefore, in the district a considerable number of persons who require immediate relief as soon as food becomes scarce.

Very similar is the condition of the Babus. Descendants of the old Rajas, they are now a numerous class in the west of the district. Too proud to work with their hands, utterly uneducated and ignorant and incapable of any kind of work, they have in successive generations been reduced almost to a state of destitution.

Again the advent of the railway has opened up the district, and has thus made the export of rice easy. In former days the surplus rice of a bumper year was stored and was available in times of scarcity. This is no longer the case. But it is not so much the lack of food supplies as the inability of the poorer classes to purchase them which causes famine in the district. Indeed, rice continues to be exported when the pinch of famine is already being felt.

The causes of famine lie deeper than the poverty of the soil and the lack of rainfall, they lie in the condition of the people themselves. This condition is susceptible of improvement, and it is not altogether vain to hope that in time the causes of famine may be eliminated.

In the district the number of persons who live by agriculture is 805,170 or 79 per cent. of the total population. Each square mile of cultivated area must, therefore, support 647 persons, a small number indeed when compared with the densely populated Eastern Bengal districts, but a large number if one remembers the unfertile character of much of the land. And it may be interesting to note that according to the calculations of Western economists 250 persons per square mile is the greatest number which can be maintained in comfort by agriculture.

Seven hundred and ninety-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-six acres, or 47 per cent. of the total area of the district, are under cultivation; and of these in 717,734 acres or 90 per cent. of the cultivated area and 42 per cent. of the total area of the district is rice grown. The actual figures for the Sadar and Bishnupur subdivisions are given below :—

	Sadar subdivision.	Bishnupur subdivision.	Total.
Total area (acres) ..	1,237,423	456,634	1,694,059
Cultivated area (acres) ..	557,652	239,374	796,926
Percentage which cultivated bears to total area.	45	52	47
Area growing rice (acres)	492,386	225,349	717,734
Percentage of rice growing to total area under cultivation.	88	94	90
Percentage of rice growing area to total area 41.	39	..	42

As a result of the crop cutting experiments which were undertaken during the

progress of the operations it has been calculated that the average outturn of paddy per acre is 16 maunds in the Sadar and 15 maunds in the Bishnupur subdivision, while the bye-product of straw averages 20 and 23 maunds, respectively. In the adjoining district of Midnapore the produce per acre was calculated at 16 maunds. On the basis of these figures the total outturn of paddy in the district in a normal year would be—

Sadar Subdivision— $16 \times 492,386$ or 7,878,176 maunds of paddy,

Bishnupur Subdivision— $15 \times 225,348$ or 3,380,220 maunds of paddy,

and the outturn for the whole district would come to 11,258,398 maunds of paddy. Calculating that 40 maunds of paddy yield 24 maunds of rice, the total outturn of rice in the district will come to 6,755,037 maunds of rice.

The average cultivator's family of 4½ persons, including women and children, would require daily 4 seers of rice if they are to have two full meals. The average consumption per head of the population would be 8/9 seers of rice daily. On the above calculation the rice grown in the district in a normal year would feed 844,379 persons.

The agricultural population of the district, as noted above, numbers 805,170 persons, and this total includes also agricultural labourers. Apart from the agricultural there is a non-agricultural population of 214,771.

These figures will give some picture of how close to the verge of want is the agricultural labourer even in a normal year. It is true that there is a considerable yearly exodus of the poorer classes of the population to Hooghly and Burdwan where they work as agricultural labourers, and the wages which they secure in return for their labour are really necessary to enable them to subsist.

27. Indebtedness of the agricultural population.—As may well be imagined indebtedness is general among the cultivating classes and few are free from this burden. This state of things did not originate from any high incidence of rent which the cultivators had to pay or even from the imposition of burdensome *abwabs*.

The incidence of money rent in the district is indeed low.

	Sadar subdivision.	Bishnupur subdivision.	Total for the district.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Average rental per acre of occupancy holdings at fixed rates.	2 1 8	3 10 8	2 14 0
Average rental per acre of occupancy holdings not at fixed rates.	1 3 9	3 4 6	1 12 7
Average rental of all occupancy holding.	1 6 8	3 7 2	2 1 5

This is a low rent in comparison with the value of the produce of the land. Nor does taxation fall heavily on the people. Chaukidari tax is low, and few, indeed, of the residents of the district are assessed to income tax.

The real cause of the general indebtedness is to be found in the narrow margin which is left to the cultivator from the produce of his land to set by in case of an emergency after feeding himself and his family. It is true that the ordinary cultivator is thriftless. It is true that the aboriginal at least will spend what money he can lay his hands on in the liquor shop. It is true, too, that the cost of marrying their children is a heavy burden for the cultivators. Among the lower classes in the district it is not the bridegroom who has to be bought, but the bride. Among the Telis the price of a bride is from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. Among the Santals and Bauris the price is from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20. Both families, moreover, have to spend lavishly during the marriage ceremony.

With so narrow a margin even in a normal year it is inevitable that sooner or later the cultivator will have to borrow. In a bad year he must borrow paddy for food and for seed. For such special occasions as a marriage he must borrow money.

The rates of interest charged are high. For small loans up to Rs. 50 the rate is 6 pies per rupee per month, for larger loans of from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500 3 pies per rupee per month is charged. For loans over Rs. 500 the usual rate is from Re. 1 to Re. 1.4 per cent. per month. Interest on loans in kind is also high. Paddy borrowed in *Sraban* or *Bhadra* must be paid in *Pous* or *Magh* with interest at the rate of 2 *solis* per map or 25 per cent.

It may be imagined that when the cultivator has started to borrow it is well

nigh impossible for him to escape from the clutches of the mahajan. The inevitable result is that his holding is sold up, and though it is probably resettled with him, it is resettled on a produce rent or a rent partly in cash and partly in kind, while the best lands are often retained by the purchaser in his own possession. The position of the cultivator rapidly becomes a hopeless one. Deprived of the best of his lands, and faced with the payment of a doubled or trebled rent for the inferior lands which remain to him, he must inevitably fall again into the clutches of the mahajan. He then becomes little more than the serf of the money-lender to whom he pays yearly the bulk of his crop, partly as rent and partly as interest on his loan, and even in a good year retains barely enough for his subsistence and that of his family.

It is these two factors which are at the root of all the trouble in the district, firstly the gradual acquisition by mahajans and middlemen of the most fertile lands in the district and secondly the gradual replacing of comparatively low money rents by excessively high produce rents.

The cultivator is reduced to the position of a serf with no thought above the material one of how to keep body and soul together. With the bulk of the populace in this condition it is hopeless to look for any improvement in agriculture. When the rains fail it is the inferior highlands, which alone are left to the wretched cultivator, that bear no crop, and it is he who feels the pinch of want so severely. In a bad year, too, the landless labourers can get little employment and they, too, must starve. There may be no lack of paddy in the district. The middlemen have harvested a rich crop in the lowlands, but they are far too selfish to share this crop with their poorer brethren. Famine conditions have raised the price of rice, the cultivators have not the wherewithal to purchase, and the middleman either stores up the rice to await a still further rise in price or exports it to another district.

28. The household budget.—Let us consider for a moment the life of the ordinary cultivator in this district, and compare his income and expenditure.

The cultivator lives a simple life. He requires daily about one seer of rice for his food. He is in the habit of taking some *muri* (fried rice) at 9 o'clock in the

morning and his principal meal at 2 P.M. He eats only a light supper. Indeed the poorer classes often cannot afford a meal at all at night. What fish he eats he catches with his own hand. *Biri kalai* he grows on his *danga* lands, his oil he extracts from mustard or til, the produce of his own fields. Vegetables, too, he grows in the lands surrounding his homestead. He requires but little in the way of spices, turmeric and chilli are all he needs. Salt indeed he has to purchase, and possibly firewood unless he has some jungle of his own. These he purchases in exchange for rice. His clothing consists of a piece of cloth six or seven cubits long. To make his curry the cultivator is satisfied with *Biri dal* and *Posto* and it is only the latter which he has to purchase.

Labourers and cultivators of the poorer class collect *mahul* flowers in the spring. These they dry and store, and, when the paddy runs short, they boil them with gram and tamarind seeds, and thus appease their hunger. These *mahul* flowers are said to be hard to digest and a small quantity is enough to satisfy their appetite.

Even the poorest cultivator is particular to anoint his body with oil before his bath. His curry may be prepared without oil, his bath cannot go without it.

Only the most prosperous cultivators are able to provide their womenkind with silver ornaments, the majority have to be satisfied with bronze or brass. Gold ornaments are unknown among the cultivators of the district.

The people are simple in their amusements, which consist chiefly of *Harisan-kirtan*. This is a song and dance in the name of the god *Hari*. *Harisankirtan* sometimes continues without intermission for several days and nights, and is called according to its duration, *Ahoratra* (one whole day and night), *Chabbis prohar* (three whole days and nights), *Pancharatra* (five whole days and nights), or *Nabaratra* (nine whole days and nights).

It may be noted that among the poorer cultivators, in the Sadar subdivision, at least money is almost unknown, and all purchases and payments are made in paddy. The blacksmith is paid one *sali* of paddy annually by each cultivator in return for his services. Labourers receive their wages in kind. Even the village grocer (*modi*) is paid not in money but in paddy.

The average size of a cultivator's holding is 1.86 acres.

	Number of holdings.	Area of holding in acres.	Average size of holding in acres.
Sadar subdivision ..	219,564	540,037	2.46
Bishnupur subdivision ..	203,167	245,699	1.29
Whole district ..	422,731	785,736	1.86

The total number of houses in the rural area is 214,302, so that on an average each family possesses two holdings.

In the whole district the area under rice is 717,734 acres. This includes the lands in the possession of proprietors and tenure-holders, who, as I remarked previously, are gradually securing possession of the best paddy lands of the district. Of the lands in the possession of proprietors and tenure-holders no less than 394,023 acres are capable of bearing a crop.

The rice area is, therefore, distributed between the 785,736 acres held by raiyat, and the 394,023 acres held by proprietors and tenure-holders. About 61 per cent., therefore, of a raiyati holding will be rice-producing. The average raiyati holding, as calculated above, comprises 1.86 acres. Of these 1.13 will produce rice. The average outturn of paddy per acre is 15.7 maunds. The raiyati holding will, therefore, produce 17.74 maunds of paddy or 10 maunds 24 seers of rice.

It has been seen that the average cultivator's family of 4½ persons possesses two holdings, which will produce 21 maunds 8 seers of rice. The daily portion of rice for the family will be no more than 2.3 seers.

These figures will suffice to give some idea of the poverty of the district, as the amount of rice calculated to be produced by the land owned by each family is insufficient to afford to each member two full meals daily.

Other Settlement Officers have calculated in terms of money the average yearly income and expenditure of the ordinary cultivator. I have thought that any attempt of this kind in the case of Bankura would be misleading. The ordinary cultivator does not handle money. He seldom hires labourers, he cultivates his land himself with the aid of the members of his family. What

articles he requires to purchase he purchases with the rice which he grows, his rent also he pays by the sale of rice.

For the same reason no regular house-to-house enquiry was made into the state of the household budget. Test cases were however taken, in which careful enquiries were made, and the results of some of these enquiries have been reproduced in the statement given in Appendix VI.

The figures thus collected are not altogether satisfactory, for they present a picture which is almost impossibly depressing.

Enough has, however, been said to show that the material and economic condition of the people of Bankura is far from satisfactory, and that some suggestions for its improvement are urgently necessary. Such improvements as can be effected must, as I have pointed out above, lie mainly in the direction of increasing the productivity of the soil.

29. Irrigation.—In a dry district such as Bankura facility for irrigation is of prime importance. Were sufficient water available, not only would all danger of failure of crops be avoided, but large areas of upland, at present standing waste, could be converted into fertile, crop-producing lands.

The necessity for providing sources for irrigation has long been recognised, and the district abounds in tanks both large and small. More ambitious schemes, too, have been attempted of which the most considerable is the canal known as the "Subankari Danra". This canal passes through the high table-land lying between the rivers Damodar and Sali. It does not, however, derive any advantage from the flood spill of either river, and hence, before the opening of the canal, the whole area from Asuria to Rampur was a vast waste, and the Rajas of Bishnupur derived little or no revenue from it. The construction of the canal is attributed traditionally to the great Bengali mathematician Subhankar Rai, the Dewan of the Bishnupur Rajas. The catchment area is a large one and the canal is fed from the water of the Sitla and Krishna Bandhs and from the springs in the Pachmouli jungle. The canal is about 20 miles in length and the area which it was to irrigate consisted of no less than 75 square miles. The work was an immediate success, and from a barren waste the tract became fit for cultivation; so much so that it produced

a revenue of Rs. 12,000, from which, it is said, the tract owes its name of "Barahazari".

The subsequent history of the canal is typical and shows very clearly the difficulties which lie in the way of effecting improvements in the district. The canal was formed into two branches, one in the north, known as the ten annas "dañra" and the other to the south, known as the six annas "dañra." In the course of time the canal silted up, the embankments were broken down and in some places even the course of the canal became obliterated, the cultivators having encroached on its bed.

At length the question of the re-excavation of the canal was raised, and correspondence of the year 1886 on the subject is extant. The scheme proposed was, however, condemned by the Superintending Engineer, Mr. McConchy, on the ground that the catchment area was inadequate and would provide no flow of water in a year of scarcity. Mr. McConchy further asserted that any satisfactory scheme would prove too expensive and could not be expected to be financially remunerative. The Government consequently refused to take up the work.

In 1897 the Collector, Mr. Manisty, took up the work as a famine measure. An estimate for the complete work was prepared amounting to Rs. 10,500, and a sum of over Rs. 2,000 was actually spent. In the following year the question of re-excavation was again raised by the Collector, Mr. B. De, as Chairman of the District Board, but it was decided that public funds could not be allotted for the purpose. Subsequently the Maharaja of Burdwan moved in the matter. In 1913 a committee was formed consisting of the Subdivisional Officer of Bishnupur, the District Engineer, the Superintendent of the Burdwan Raj and Babu Kali Nath Chatterji of Palashdanga. Money was raised, subscriptions being paid by Government, the Raj and the public. Two years later the Collector, Mr. Cook, revived the scheme. Subscriptions were called for. His Excellency the Governor subscribed Rs. 2,000, the Maharaja of Burdwan Rs. 1,000, the Kashipur Wards Estate paid Rs. 200 and Rs. 318 was raised from the general public. In 1916 the whole canal was re-excavated at Government expense as a famine measure, and a sum of over Rs. 33,000 was spent.

Obviously money spent on the re-excavation of the canal and of its catchment area was money wasted without some continuous scheme of maintenance, and of this Mr. Cook was well aware. An elaborate scheme of maintenance was prepared, committees and sub-committees were formed for the various villages, and it was proposed that the cultivators whose lands were irrigated from the canal should pay a yearly sum at the rate of one rupee per plough. The resultant amount would have been quite sufficient for the maintenance of the canal, but, alas! the law provided no means for enforcing payment, and it was found impossible to realise the subscriptions. Local jealousies, moreover, stood in the way of a fair distribution of the water. The villagers of one village would divert the water and leave none for the village below.

In spite, therefore, of the efforts of local officials the Subhankari Dañra remains in a state of disrepair and does but little towards the irrigation of the area through which it runs.

As with this large canal scheme, so also has been the case with the tanks constructed for the irrigation of each village. No attempt is made to repair or maintain them, with the result that they gradually silt up and cease to function. Many of the tanks in the district have already silted up, others are gradually silting. The root of the trouble lies in the total absence of even the most restricted and local form of public spirit. The people have no idea of co-operating for the construction or maintenance of any work of public utility.

Besides the Subhankari Dañra two other canals exist in the district, one the Kulai khal in Simlapal thana, the other the Palasbani canal in Ambikanagar.

The former canal was constructed by the Zemindar of Simlapal, who realises from the tenants from four to seven *pais* of paddy for each bigha of land irrigated according to the class of land. The area irrigated is not large.

The Palasbani canal was constructed during the 1917 famine, and was a somewhat ambitious project. It is about five miles in length and runs from Palasbani to the Kasai, which river it meets about a mile to the South of Ambikanagar. The canal was, however, never completed and at present serves no useful purpose.

During the operations special care was taken to collect statistics of the irrigation sources of the district and the area

irrigated therefrom, and two special registers were prepared. In the first register the actual source of irrigation and its present condition is described and the total area irrigated from it is given. The second register is a register of rights which enumerates the fields entitled to receive water from the source.

From the statistics collected it appears that 226,263 acres, that is 28 per cent. of the net cropped area or 13 per cent. of the whole area of the district, are irrigated.

The irrigation sources, as has been remarked above, consist mainly of tanks or *bandhs* as they are called locally. These *bandhs* are of two kinds. In the west of the district, where the country is undulating, an embankment is ordinarily built across a valley and two side embankments are constructed to retain the water which drains down from all sides after rain has fallen. As may easily be imagined, during heavy rain, much silt is carried down with the rainwater, so that the *bandh* rapidly fills up, if not constantly re-excavated. In the east of the district, which is flat, the ordinary form of tank with four embanked sides is to be found. Most of these tanks or *bandhs* are of considerable antiquity, though some are of modern origin having been constructed during the various famine relief operations of recent years.

To eliminate famine altogether is by no means an impossible ideal, but its realisation depends on co-operation. Through co-operation alone can old sources of irrigation be re-excavated and regain their former usefulness; through co-operation alone can schemes of irrigation, once in operation, be maintained. Of recent years great efforts have been made by the local officials to preach this doctrine to the people, and some measure of success has crowned their endeavours.

By the end of the year 1923 no less than 67 registered Irrigation Societies—49 in the Sadar and 18 in the Bishnupur subdivision—were already in existence, while many more were in the process of formation. A Central Bank, through which these societies are financed, has been started at the headquarters of the district. It is stated that the area to be irrigated by the projects already started by these societies will exceed 9,000 acres. The societies command a combined capital of over two lakhs of rupees. Most of the schemes initiated by these societies consist in the

excavation of large tanks, but in some cases more ambitious schemes have been started, to wit, the construction of masonry weirs across streams to enable larger supplies of water to be collected for the irrigation of considerable areas.

Of these larger schemes the following are under construction :—

- (1) A masonry weir across the Harinmuri khal in thana Radhanagar. This scheme, which is estimated to cost Rs. 50,000, is being financed by the Shalband Society. The work is under construction and Rs. 10,000 has already been spent. It is calculated that 5,000 bighas of land will eventually be irrigated by means of this scheme.
- (2) A masonry weir across the Amjhor khal in thana Taldangra has already been completed by the Amjhor Guru Saday Society. The cost of construction was Rs. 16,000, and it is anticipated that 2,100 bighas of land will be irrigated by means of this scheme.
- (3) A masonry weir across the Rukni khal in thana Taldangra. The estimated cost of the completed work is Rs. 7,700 of which Rs. 2,700 has already been spent. It is expected to irrigate 1,200 bighas of land by means of this scheme.

Of the more important tank irrigation schemes recently completed may be mentioned the Jamunabandh in thana Raipur and the Danna Dighi in thana Patrasair. Each of these tanks irrigates over 1,000 bighas of land.

30. Improvement of the economic condition of the people.—To effect an improvement in the economic condition of the people necessitates an increase in, and a more even distribution of, the wealth of the district. As has been pointed out above, the present economic distress is due to the frequent failure of crops and to some extent also to the thriftlessness of the people. Owing to these two causes the people in general are so heavily in debt that they have become little more than the serfs of the money-lenders and middlemen. To improve their economic condition, therefore, it is necessary to free the people from their burden of debt, to eliminate as far as may be the possibility

of a failure of crops in the future and to teach them to observe principles of thrift which will prevent them again from falling into the clutches of the money-lender.

To achieve all this there appears to be one possible method. The salvation of the people would seem to lie in the spread of the principle of co-operation through the district. By the establishment of Co-operative Societies properly organised and fostered principles of thrift can be taught by the practice of which the people will gradually be enabled to free themselves from their load of debt. By the establishment of Co-operative Irrigation Societies a continually increasing area of land can be brought under irrigation, so that the danger of a failure of crops in years of rain scarcity may in time be eliminated, and eventually too the area under cultivation may be extended. In a district such as Bankura these societies will require very close supervision, but the end to be attained is an inspiring one and a beginning has already been made.

On the improvement in the people's economic condition and the increase in and the freer circulation of wealth it may be hoped that an improvement in the methods of agriculture will follow. Something may also be done by encouraging such industries as are particularly suitable to the district and the genius of the people, such as dairy and poultry farming, weaving, wood and lac industry and the like.

CHAPTER V.

Fiscal History.

31. Jurisdiction and limits of the district.—The parganas and thanas which comprise the modern district of Bankura have at various times formed parts of so many different districts and have been transferred and retransferred so often, that material for the writing of a Revenue History of the district is difficult to come by.

In the days of their prosperity the whole area formed a part of the territories ruled over by the Rajas of Bishnupur and was known as the kingdom of Mallabhum. In ancient days the kingdom of Mallabhum extended northwards to Damin-i-koh in the Santal Parganas, to the south it stretched far into the modern district of

Midnapore, to the east it included portions of Burdwan and to the west it extended into Chota Nagpur.

Mallabhum is the abode of the Bagdis, the Santals, and other aboriginal tribes, and, according to Mr. W. B. Oldham, signifies the land of the Mals. It is probable that this is the true meaning of the word, for the Rajas of Bishnupur were the acknowledged kings of the Bagdis, the neighbours of the Mals.

Popular legend indeed ascribes a very different origin to the word. According to it, Mallabhum is the land of the Mallas (a Sanskrit word denoting wrestler), and owes its origin to the fact that the first Raja Adi Malla was famed for his skill as a wrestler. Such an interpretation was no doubt evolved to fit in with the supposed Kshatriya origin of the Bishnupur house. For, in common with all the princely families in this part of the country, the Rajas of Bishnupur claim descent from the Kshatriyas of northern India, and it is interesting to note how similar are the legends told of the origin of these families. The making of a pilgrimage to Puri by some scion of a royal Kshatriya house accounts for the presence of a Kshatriya prince in the remote jungle home of aboriginal tribes.

The history of this ancient line of kings and the temples which they built and the lakes which they dug and all the mighty works which they did are written in the "Gazetteer of the District of Bankura", and an account of them would be out of place in this report. Suffice it to say that so isolated was the country, and so well defended by its dense jungles and by its swift-flowing rivers and so difficult of access, that the course of history passed it by. It was of little moment to the Rajas of Bishnupur whether Hindu or Muhammadan held sway at Delhi, and when eventually a Moghul army invaded the country and exacted tribute, no attempt was made to hold this area, and the jungle territories of Bishnupur were never conquered and annexed as was the case with the more open lands of the rest of Bengal. It was not indeed until the time of Dhari Malla, the 49th prince of the dynasty, who flourished about the end of the sixteenth century, that we hear for the first time of the payment of tribute to the Moghuls in acknowledgment of their suzerainty. Indeed the peculiar status of the Rajas of Bishnupur appears to

have been admitted by the Moghuls themselves. They were tributary princes, exempted from personal attendance at the Court of the Nawab of Murshidabad, where they were represented by an agent; they were left independent within their own dominions, and no attempt was made to interfere with the internal administration of their territories.

An interesting historical fact, which supports the claim of the Rajas of Bishnupur to peculiar distinction is the use of a special Bishnupur era called the "*Malla saka*" on their inscriptions and in their records. The difference between the Malla year and the "*fasli*" year of Bengal is 101 years, and it may be that the Bishnupur Rajas adopted the *Malla* year from the Bengali year for their own glorification.

The military greatness of the Bishnupur Rajas had departed long before the period of the British administration of the country had begun. Baishnabism, introduced, it is said, by Bir Hambir in the sixteenth century, had become the state religion, and the tenets of Baishnabism are incompatible with a warlike spirit.

Thus we find that when the British first attained the sovereignty of Bengal, the limits of the kingdom had greatly shrunk. In 1760 when the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong were ceded to the Company, the pargana of Bishnupur was included for administrative purposes within Burdwan. The pargana of Bishnupur did not, however, comprise all the territories which make up the modern district of Bankura. Pargana Phulkusma, Raipur, Ambikanagar, Shyamsundarpur, Simlapal, Bhelaidiha, Supur and Chhatna were at that time excluded from it and dependent on the Midnapore Zemindari. But the whole area came under the Company's jurisdiction in 1760 as forming part either of the Burdwan or the Midnapore Chakla.

The state of the country in the early years of the Company's administration was one of anarchy. Devastated by the Marathi raids, the country had been ruined by the famine of 1770, and the remnants of the population, homeless and starving, were ready for any desperate enterprise. Bands of marauders from the hills and jungles of the west, composed mainly of aboriginal tribes,

roamed over the plains, and still further laid the country waste. Crowds of once respectable cultivators, urged by the pangs of starvation, joined these bands of "*Choars*" and made common cause with them. Bishnupur was far from the seat of administration; and the Raja himself incompetent, poverty-stricken and sinking under an accumulation of misfortunes, was quite unable to provide for the security of his people.

A graphic description of the horrors of these times, compiled from contemporary records, is given by Sir W. Hunter in his "*Annals of Rural Bengal*" and is a sufficient contradiction of the ideal picture, sometimes referred to by modern writers and speakers, of a golden age of Bengal which is alleged to have existed before the British took over the administration of the country. And it is an interesting speculation for the historian to consider what would have happened to the unfortunate inhabitants of Bengal had the British not stepped in, driven back the invader, and brought peace and security to the country.

At length, moved by the representations of the local officers and the reports of the anarchy prevailing in the frontier districts, the Government appointed Mr. Pye in 1787 as Collector of Birbhum and Bishnupur, and thus united the whole frontier area into one compact block. Difficult indeed was the task which confronted the Collectors of this new district who combined in their single person the functions of Commander-in-Chief and Civil Governor. Their activities lie, however, outside the scope of this report.

A stop had been put to the raids of the Choars in 1790 A.D., but 8 years later under the leadership of Durjan Singh, the dispossessed proprietor of Raipur, they again commenced. The whole south and west of the district was overrun and the administration was paralysed. The result of these disturbances was the formation under Regulation XVIII of 1805 of the Jungle Mahals district, which brought the seat of the administration in closer touch with the disturbed area.

The new district included 15 parganas or mahals in Birbhum, in Burdwan the parganas of Seapahari, Shergarh and Bishnupur (with the exception of the police jurisdiction of Kotalpur and of the contiguous pargana of Baisi.

which were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate of Burdwan), and in Midnapore the parganas of Chhatna, Barabhum, Manbhum, Supur, Ambikanagar, Simlapal and Bhelaidiha. The pargana of Bishnupur had been retransferred from Birbhum to Burdwan just before the permanent settlement, and thus suffered three changes of jurisdiction within 20 years. Almost the whole of the present district was thus included in the Jungle Mahals, and from the year 1806 A.D. Bankura became the headquarters of the new district. It was with the police jurisdiction that Regulation XVIII of 1805 was mainly concerned, and the charge of the police in this area was entrusted to the zemindars notwithstanding the provisions of Regulation XXII of 1793.

In spite of these changes, the disturbances continued and matters came to a head in 1832 when Ganga Narayan of Barabhum, aggrieved at the decision of the Courts respecting his succession to some property, gathered round him a large force of Bhumijes and harried the country. The officials and the police fell back before him and soon the whole country was at his mercy. Terrible are the tales which are told of the murders, the outrages and the burnings committed during this uprising which went by the name of the Ganga Narayan Hangama.

About the same time (1831-32) a similar insurrection broke out among the Kols in Chota Nagpur.

In both cases regular troops were called in and the insurgents soon dispersed, but it was thought advisable to adopt special measures for the control of the hilly and jungly tracts mainly inhabited by aboriginal tribes.

Accordingly Regulation XIII of 1833 was introduced by which Chota Nagpur, Palamau, Kharadiha, Ramgarh, Kunda, Pargana Dalbhum and the whole of the Jungle Mahals (with the exception of Bishnupur, Senpahari, and Shergarh) were formed into one administrative unit. The area so constituted was named the South-West Frontier Agency. Within this territory the operation of the regulations and the rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice were suspended, and the authority in these matters and the general administration of the new district were vested in an officer

appointed by the Governor-General in Council and designated as the Agent to the Governor-General. It was not until 1854 by Regulation XX of that year that the Agent to the Governor-General was replaced by a officer appointed by the local Government.

The remaining Jungle Mahal parganas (Senpahari, Shergarh and Bishnupur) again reverted to the district of Burdwan. It was soon found, however, that this change in jurisdiction involved too great a pressure of work on the Collector of Burdwan and that the distance of the Bishnupur pargana from the district headquarters caused inconvenience to the public. Accordingly in the following year 1834 the town of Bankura was transferred from the South-West Frontier Agency to Burdwan, and a Covenanted Deputy Collector was placed in charge of the Bishnupur pargana with headquarters at Bankura.

In 1867, under the orders of the Nizamât Adalat, the Zilla of Burdwan was divided into two parts to be called East and West Burdwan, respectively. The judge of West Burdwan was to reside at Bankura and that portion of his jurisdiction which lay to the north of the Damodar river was to be handed over to the Judge and Magistrate of Birbhum. West Burdwan, therefore, consisted of pargana Bishnupur with the police jurisdiction of Kotulpur and Indas.

From this time onwards changes in jurisdiction were numerous and were prompted by a consideration that the extreme edge of a district is an unsuitable site for its headquarters. It had been proposed originally that Sonamukhi should form the headquarters of the new district of West Burdwan, but effect was not given to this proposal.

The Magistrate himself pointed out with some force the anomalous position which existed whereby the police-station of Chhatna, which lay only 8 miles from the headquarters of the Bankura district, belonged to the district of Manbhum, of which the headquarters Purulia was distant 42 miles. Accordingly in 1847 the criminal jurisdiction of Chhatna and Mohisara was transferred from Manbhum to Bankura, while the civil and revenue jurisdiction remained with Manbhum. Proposals to make the civil, criminal and revenue jurisdictions co-terminous were opposed by the Zamindar

of Chhatna on the ground that his zamindari being poor was frequently in arrears of land revenue and was saved from sale only by the special protection afforded by the provisions of Regulation XIII of 1833, and that this advantage would be lost and he himself ruined if the jurisdiction were transferred from a nonregulation to a regulation district. Accordingly the proposal was dropped for the time and it was not until the year 1872 that the civil and revenue jurisdictions of Chhatna and Mohisara were transferred to Bankura.

In 1848 thana Indas was transferred to the Zilla of East Burdwan, but in 1851 this transfer was again cancelled.

In 1859 Bankura was raised to the status of a Collectorate.

In 1872 thanas Sonamukhi, Kotulpur and Indas were transferred to Burdwan, but were again retransferred to Bankura in 1879. A further change was made in the same year by which parganas Supur, Raipur, Phulkusma, Ambikanagar, Shyamsundarpur, Simlapal and Bhelaidiha, comprising thanas Khatra and Raipur with the independent outpost of Simlapal, were transferred from Manbhum to Bankura. This final change in jurisdiction originated in a representation of Messrs. Gisborne & Co. who were ijaradars of a considerable portion of this area. They complained with some reason of the inconvenience to which the inhabitants of these areas were put through having to go to Purulia and Ranchi for their law suits. Not only were the distances very great but there was much delay in the disposal of cases in Manbhum which was under-officered while work in Bankura was light.

The district thus attained its present limits, and in the same year the subdivision of Bishnupur was created.

32. History previous to the permanent settlement.—The district is divided into two parts not only physically but also historically. On the west lie the Jungle Mahals—parganas Chhatna, Supur, Ambikanagar (formerly called Aminagar), Raipur, Phulkusma, Shyamsundarpur, Simlapal and Bhelaidiha; in the centre and to the east the pargana of Bishnupur; to the north, comprising what are now thanas Saltora and Mejhia. is pargana Mohisara, an outlying portion of the great Pachete Raj, and forming also one of the Jungle Mahals.

33. The Jungle Mahals.—The Jungle Mahals in the time of Akbar formed part of Circar Goalpara, and in 1722 in the time of Murshid Kuli Khan they were contained in Chakla Midnapore which was ceded to the East India Company in 1760. They appear at this time to have been loosely attached to the Midnapore zemindari, but how they were assessed or what revenue they paid to the Moghuls there is no information available.

The chiefs of these mahals had held sway over their jungle kingdoms when Hindu kings still ruled in India. Situated as they were in the midst of impenetrable jungles, the Moghul Emperors had neither the power nor the inclination to subdue them. Casual raids there may have been, and local legend lends colour to the supposition that an army was sent to subdue Raipur. But such an expedition was foredoomed to failure. The inhabitants of the invaded country had merely to retreat to their jungle fastnesses and await the retirement of the invading force. It is probable that some tribute was nominally paid by these chiefs, but it is likely that its actual payment depended largely on the inclination of the Raja himself.

With the cession of the Midnapore Chakla to the East India Company in 1760, these parganas came under British administration; and a very troublesome problem the Company found them. In 1767 Lieut. Ferguson was ordered to subjugate and settle the whole of this jungle tract. He marched to Supur, Ambikanagar and Raipur and appears to have received the submission of the chiefs and to have imposed on the Ambikanagar pargana an assessment of Rs. 311-2 and on Chhatna an assessment of Rs. 979-11-6. Raipur he found by far the richest pargana in the south and the most widely cultivated. In Chhatna he found "a polished set of people" in comparison with their neighbours.

34. Pargana Bishnupur.—Previous to the permanent settlement the Rajas of Bishnupur occupied a position which was almost unique in Bengal. Any consideration of the revenue paid by the Rajas prior to the taking over of the revenue administration by the Company is a matter of purely historical interest. The country was never really subdued by

the Moghuls, and any payments which were made were in the nature of a tribute and in no sense an assessment based on a consideration of the value of the gross produce of the land.

Bishnupur indeed finds no place in the "*Asal Tumari Jama*" or original revenue roll prepared in the reign of the Emperor Akbar by Raja Todar Mal in the year 1582. In the improved *Tumari Jama* of 1658 prepared by Shah Suja, Bishnupur is shown along with other frontier districts, Pachete, Chanderkona, etc., as jointly liable to a *Peshkush* or fixed tribute of Rs. 59,146.

In the settlement made by Murshid Kuli Khan in 1722 the assessment of Bishnupur was included in that of the Burdwan Chakla. Grant, however, in his "*Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*" shows separately the assessment payable by Gopal Singh, the predecessor of Chaitanya Singh. The assessment he puts at Rs. 1,29,803. Towards the end of the reign of Gopal Singh (*Circa* 1740) this assessment was reduced to Rs. 1,11,803 in consideration of the devastation caused by the Mahratta raids, but was again raised to the former amount in the time of his successor (*Circa* 1757) by the levy of the Maratha Chout.

In 1762 by the additional levy of the "*Serf sicca*"* the revenue was increased to Rs. 1,36,045. In 1765 it rose to Rs. 1,61,044, and in the following year a further arbitrary impost of Rs. 56,455 was added to the former "*Jama*" subject to a "*muscoorat*"† deduction of Rs. 7,498.

In 1770 under the auspices of a British Supervisor the constitutional mode of settlement by a regular "*hastabood*"‡ seems to have been adopted with a considerable advantage in the way of revenue notwithstanding the ravages of the famine, and in 1771 the "*Jama Kaumil*" or highest complete valuation of the whole territory capable of realisation appears to have been obtained and fixed in gross at Rs. 4,51,750. This gross valuation was distributed under ten new pargana

* The "*Serf Sicca*" was the discount or batta imposed on account of the exchange of rupees.

† The "*muscoorat*" was the customary deduction allowed to zemindars.

‡ The "*hastabood*" was the detailed enquiry into the value of lands.

divisions consisting of 79 *hoodas* or farms and was calculated as follows—

Parganas.	Hoodas.	Valuation.
		Rs.
1. Indas	29	88,192
2. Balsey	4	24,049
3. Sharadpoor	25	82,063
4. Bointal	1	40,281
5. Senghazary	1	35,213
6. Rawostund	1	48,994
7. Paroolah	4	19,804
8. Barahazary	1	36,783
9. Khas Mahals	8	43,541
10. Havillas	5	32,850
	79	4,51,750

The gross assets of the estate were thus estimated at Rs. 4,51,750 and 13 per cent. or Rs. 58,000 being deducted on account of the costs of collection, a percentage somewhat greater than that usually given to zamindars in Bengal, the total net revenue demand was fixed at Rs. 3,93,750. Such is the account of the revenue assessment of the Bishnupur zamindari given by Grant in his Analysis.

Before entering on a description of the settlement of the pargana at the time of the Decennial Settlement and the subsequent ruin of the Bishnupur Raj family which entailed the splitting up of the zamindari, it will be interesting to refer to contemporary accounts of the country and its administration. The following somewhat idyllic picture of Bishnupur in the time of Gopal Singh comes from the pen of no less a person than Governor Holwell and is taken from his "Interesting Historical Events".

"To the west of Burdwan", he writes, "something northerly, lie the lands belonging to the family of Raja Gopal Singh, of the Rajput Brahmin tribe: they possess an extent of sixteen days' travel; the district produces an annual revenue of between thirty and forty lacs, but from the happiness of his situation he is perhaps the most independent Raja of Indostan, having always in his power to overflow his country, and drown any enemy that comes against him; as happened at the beginning of Suja Khan's Government, who sent a strong body of horse to reduce him; these he suffered to advance far into his country, then opening the dams of the rivers destroyed them to a man. As it is, he can hardly be said to acknowledge any

allegiance to the Moghul or Subah, he some years deigns to send to the Subah an acknowledgment by way of salaamy (or present) of Rs. 15,000, sometimes Rs. 20,000 and some years not anything at all, as he happens to be disposed.

"But in truth, it would be almost cruelty to molest these happy people, for, in this district, are the only vestiges of the beauty, purity, regularity, equity and strictness of the ancient Indostan Government. Here the property as well as the liberty of the people are inviolate, here no robberies are heard of, either private or public; the traveller, either with or without merchandise, on his entering the district, becomes the immediate care of Government, which allots him guards* without any expense to conduct him from stage to stage, and these are accountable for the safety and accommodation of his person and effects. At the end of the first stage he is delivered over with certain benevolent formalities to the guards of the next, who after interrogating the traveller as to the usage he had received in his journey, dismisses the first guard with a written certificate of his behaviour and a receipt for the traveller and his effects, which certificate and receipt are returnable to the commanding officer of the first stage who registers the same and regularly reports it to the Raja.

In this form the traveller is passed through the country, and if he only passes he is not suffered to be at any expense for food, accommodation or carriage for his merchandise or baggage: but it is otherwise if he is permitted to make any residence in one place above three days unless occasioned by sickness or any unavoidable accident.

"If anything is lost in the district, for instance a bag of money or other valuable, the person who finds it hangs it upon the next tree and gives notice to the nearest "*chowkey*" or place of guard, the officer of which orders immediate publication of the same by beat of drums. There are in this precinct no less than 360 considerable Pagodas, or places of public worship erected by the Raja or his ancestors.

The worship of the cow is here carried to so great an extreme that if the animal meets with a violent death, the city or village to which it belonged go to a

* Referring no doubt to the ghatwals.

general mourning and fast for three days and are obliged, from the Raja to the meanest of the people to remain on the spot where they first heard the publication of the accident and are employed during that space in performing various expiations as directed in the Shastras. Bishnupur, the capital and chief residence of the Raja, and which gives a name to the whole district, is also the chief seat of trade."

A somewhat different picture is given by Grant in his "Analysis of the Finances of Bengal".

"The Zamindari of Bishnupur," he writes, "celebrated by modern speculative historians for the primitive inoffensive manners of its inhabitants under a utopian system of internal administration, and distinguished in Bengal as a nest of thieves until the period of its complete subjugation to the Moghul authority, comprehends 1,256 square miles".

After considering the claims of the Bishnupur Rajas to belong to a line of princes extending back for fifty generations he states—

"In truth the possessor of this little district had pretension of heritable jurisdiction or territorial rights, with the exception of two or three others in the same predicament, infinitely superior to any in Bengal".

35. The permanent settlement.—That the permanent settlement of Bengal entailed the ruin of many ancient and noble families is a commonplace of history. In no case perhaps was the downfall so sudden or so tragic as that of the Bishnupur Rajas, who had held sway as independent princes for 1200 years, and, even if account be taken of the incompetence of the old Raja Chaitanya Singh, his lack of straightforward dealing and his inability to control even the members of his own family, it is difficult to avoid the reflection that here was a case where the provisions of law should have been relaxed, and steps taken to keep intact the territories of the ancient Raj.

Sir William Hunter (Bengal Mss. Records, Volume I, page 31) divides the zamindars with whom permanent settlement was made into four classes—

- (1) The old Hindu Rajas who ruled in Bengal before the conquest of the country by the Emperor Akbar in 1576.
- (2) Rajas or great landowners, dating from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, some of whom were like the first class *de facto* rulers in their own estates and territories subject to a tribute or land tax payable to the representative of the Emperor.
- (3) Persons whose families had held the office of collecting the revenue during one, two or more generations, and who had thus established a prescriptive right.
- (4) Revenue farmers who since the Dewani grant of 1765 had collected taxes for the East India Company under the system first of yearly leases, then of five-yearly leases, and again of yearly leases. Many of these had by 1787 acquired a *de facto* status of zamindars.

Clearly the members of the first two classes differed from those of the second two not only in social position but also in the title by right of which they held their lands. They were in fact not only revenue collectors but also hereditary territorial magnates.

The Bishnupur Rajas had held their principality, which was about the size of Wales, long before the annexation of Bengal to the Moghul Empire in 1576. During the greater period of the Moghul supremacy, they were tributary princes who kept the western frontiers of Bengal against the hillmen. Even under the severe fiscal policy of Murshid Kuli Khan (1704-1726) the Bishnupur Raja was one of the two magnates exempted from its despotic regulations. It would be impossible to cite a case in which the title to a zamindari depended less upon official grant and more upon hereditary right.

Unfortunately the results of the Permanent Settlement were not only to place all zamindars on a uniform legal basis and to obliterate the differences in the customary status which had grown out of differences of origin, but in fact to deprive the hereditary magnates of their land. Accustomed to an easy assessment they had lived in a style of princely magnificence surrounded by a costly and useless body of household troops and a still more costly and less useful body of hangers-on. Burdened now with a heavy assessment and faced with ruin on their

failure to pay, they had neither the energy nor the thrift necessary to adapt themselves to the new conditions. It is not surprising, therefore, that with very few exceptions the result of the Permanent Settlement was the ruin of the territorial magnates.

Many factors combined to make the downfall of the Bishnupur family inevitable; the ruinous litigation between Chaitanya and his cousin Damodar Singh following on a dispute regarding the succession to the Raj, the devastated condition of the country, the magnitude of the assessment and finally the inadequate powers given to landlords under the Regulations to ensure the punctual payment of rent on the part of their tenants. With regard to assessment especially Bishnupur stood on a different footing from most other zamindari in Bengal. Previous to the decennial settlement the rent collections of the zamindari had been placed in charge of a covenanted Civilian. The assessment therefore was based not, as was the case with other zamindari, on previous assessments and on guess work but on a consideration of actual collections made.

The litigation between Chaitanya and Damodar Singh affords an illuminating picture of the law's delays and the virtual impossibility at that time of securing a clear and authoritative decision.

Damodar Singh enlisted the help of the Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah, and after him of Mir Jaffar, and succeeded at last in driving Chaitanya Singh from Bishnupur. The latter, taking with him the family idol, Madan Mohan, made his way to Murshidabad. Bishnupur had, however, been ceded to the British with the rest of the Burdwan Chakla in 1760, and he was referred to the English Courts at Calcutta. Here his money was soon spent and he was reduced to pawning the family idol with Gokul Mitter in order to secure the aid of the Dewan Ganga Gobinda Singh. Eventually, through the instrumentality of the latter, the British espoused his cause. A military force was sent to Bishnupur and the fugitive restored to possession as sole zamindar.

Damodar Singh then managed to obtain a decision of the Company's Resident at Murshidabad by virtue of which he was declared entitled to one-half of the zamindari. Against this decision Chaitanya Singh appealed to the Governor-General in Council who, finding that

the law of primogeniture prevailed in Bishnupur, gave a decision in favour of Chaitanya Singh confirming him in possession as sole zamindar, and declaring Damodar Singh to be entitled to maintenance only. The matter did not rest here. In 1791 a new decision was notified to the Collector of Birbhum whereby the zamindari was again divided among the contending parties. Against this decision Chaitanya Singh appealed to the Dewani Adalat of Birbhum. After more ruinous litigation a compromise was at length arrived at in the year 1794 whereby Chaitanya Singh obtained the bulk of the property and Damodar Singh retired to Jamkuri where his descendants live to this day. "But by the time the decree was obtained," as Sir William Hunter observes, "one brother was a white-haired imbecile prisoner in the debtor's jail; the other lay, impervious to joy or sorrow, on his death bed."

It may be conceded that the time chosen for the fixing of the Decennial Settlement of land revenue which afterwards was made permanent could hardly have been more inopportune in so far as Bishnupur was concerned. Barely 30 years had elapsed since the incursions of the Marathas followed by the great famine of 1770 had utterly desolated the land. During the intervening years the country had been at the mercy of the *Choars*, whose ravages were scarcely less harmful than those of the Marathas, with the result that the land had regained little or nothing of its erstwhile prosperity. To fix a permanent assessment on the land at such a time could not but be fraught with disaster both to the zamindar and to the Government.

With the country in this state it may well be imagined that the collection of rents from tenants was no easy task, and to these inherent difficulties must be added the fact that the Regulations gave no adequate powers to landlords to ensure the punctual payment of rent, their only remedy being to file suits before the Dewani Adalat. In how far this was an adequate remedy may be surmised from an extract from a letter of Mr. Davis, Collector of Burdwan, dated the 27th February 1795, to the Board of Revenue.* In this letter the Collector enumerates the difficulties encountered by the Sezawal Jewan Lal in the collections of the Bishnupur zamindari.

* Vide Firminger 5th Report Vol. II, page 527.

"If it shall appear, from what I have the honour of adducing in this address or from any other information which it may be thought necessary to procure, that the constitution of the adawlut in this extensive district, and the mode of proceeding therein, are such as to afford no adequate means to zamindars and others, of speedily enforcing payment of their just demands; but on the contrary leave it in the power of their under-renters and ryots to withhold their rents, through a term almost indefinite; the Board will, I trust, interest itself so far as to bring the grievance under the notice of Government, in such a manner, as may be productive of effectual redress. In order to convey a clear conception of the necessity there appears to me to be for such an application, I beg leave to solicit the Board's attention to the following circumstances:—

"I have reason to believe that the whole number of suits now undecided in the adawlut of this district, will be found to be not less in number than 30,000, and that half this accumulation of business in arrear, has taken place in the course of about nine months. To judge, therefore from experience of nine months, of the adequacy of the Court to answer the object of its institution in which the due collection of the rents and the public interest are immediately concerned, or, in other words, to estimate the excess of its business, beyond what, under its present constitution human powers can perform, a computation may be made on the following grounds:—Let it be admitted that the court can get through ten suits per diem, which considering that there is likewise a foudarry office of constant and very considerable business to be supplied, and that every suit in the dewanny adawlut, whether for a large or a small sum, requires the same formality of procedure is, I apprehend, the utmost that it can be supposed to perform; and allowing, in the same estimate, that the Court sit for the despatch of business every day in the year, not even Sundays excepted, the period, requisite for it to clear off its present load of business would be no less than between 8 and 9 years; at the end of which term admitting the number of complaints filed, or that the business of the court should be equal to what it has proved for 9 months past, the load of business, instead of being perfectly gotten rid of, would be found increased, in the number of 160,000 suits still pending, or more than five times what it is at

present. It follows, therefore, that a man who at this time files a bill in the dewanny adawlut, and provided his cause be brought to decision in regular rotation, cannot look for redress of his injury to be afforded him in less than eight years, and that a man who at the end of that period should file a bill, could have no very good prospect of its being brought to decision, in the whole term of his life; and moreover that the number of complaints pending at the end of every year will be found still accumulating in a ratio which would ultimately prolong the prospect of decision beyond any assignable limit, and thereby destroy the purposes of an adawlut altogether.

"The Board will not, I presume, ascribe the vast accumulation of business now in arrear, and the consequent deplorable state of the inhabitants of this district, in regard to judicial matters, to any want of diligence on the part of the court of adawlut, but to causes which nothing less than the interposition of government itself can remove, by rendering the judicial process in revenue causes more summary and expeditious, by adding many more courts of adawlut to the district, or otherwise, as in its wisdom, may appear expedient.

"It is the avowed purpose of the Public Regulations to afford the natives a free and impartial distribution of justice, and, in particular, a speedy adjustment of the malguzarry disputes; and the latter is undoubtedly the more necessary because a landholder is liable to be deprived of his property for the satisfaction of the dues of Government, whether his own dues have been satisfied or not; and from the proportion the land tax in this country bears to the whole produce of an estate it is clear that unless the dues of the landholder be wholly or very nearly satisfied, he must be unable to perform his engagements, unless by loans, which would prove but a temporary expedient; and though it might support his credit for a short time would, under the circumstances above stated, only make his eventual ruin the more certain."

It was not only the desolate state of the country which made the collection of rents from the tenants difficult. The famine of 1770 which had wiped out one-third of the population had entirely reversed the agricultural situation. No longer were the tenants suppliants to the landlord for land, but it was the landlords who had to hold out inducements to

the tenants to settle; in a word there was far more land than there were tenants to cultivate it. The inevitable result was a cheapening of the rates of rent and an independence among the tenants hitherto unknown.

The punctual payment of revenue and the dire consequences which followed on default were conditions of the Permanent Settlement resented by every zamindar of Bengal. On none did the provision of the law fall more heavily than on the Raja of Bishnupur. Until lately a tributary prince paying his tribute only when necessity or his own pleasure dictated, he was called upon to pay a revenue which, considering the condition of his territories at the time, would have taxed the resources of the most capable administrator. The result was inevitable.

I have no means of testing the accuracy of the figures given by Grant, but, from the earliest correspondence available it appears that the assessment on the zamindari during the period of the litigation between Chaitanya and Damodar Singh was Rs. 3,86,700. But this assessment Chaitanya Singh never succeeded in paying. Kind-hearted, easy-going and incompetent, the management of the estate was left in the hands of his relations and dependants. Fraud and mismanagement resulted. Portions of the property were farmed out by his relations for their own benefit. Lakheraj grants were ante-dated and distributed broadcast. And besides all this, Chaitanya Singh had himself incurred enormous debts in the prosecution of his litigation with Damodar Singh. His debt to Gokul Chandra Mitter of Calcutta alone is said to have amounted to Rs. 1,30,000.

Miserable indeed was the fate of Chaitanya Singh. Imprisoned for default, his zamindari was put under attachment, and Sezawals were appointed to collect his revenues. As soon as his estates was handed back to him he again defaulted and was again imprisoned. The position of the Sezawals too was not a happy one, and the correspondence of the time is full of complaints detailing their difficulties in the collection of rents and the opposition which they experienced at the hands of Chaitanya Singh and his sons, and the exactions which the Raja continued to make from the raiyats.

Finally in 1789 Mr. Hesilrige, a covenanted Civilian, was deputed to take charge of the collections of the estate. The reason of the deputation of

this officer was to discover the real resources of the pargana so as to enable an equitable settlement to be made with the zamindar. Mr. Hesilrige was also ordered to enquire into and resume all chakran lands and all invalid lakheraj grants. Under his khas management the total collections of the estate, *including the balances of that year subsequently recovered*, amounted to Rs. 4,19,539 only, which, deducting one-eleventh part on account of *malikana* left a balance of Rs. 3,81,399.

In the following year 1790, the old Raja, still a prisoner, was brought down to Indas by the Collector, Mr. Keating, and there accepted a decennial settlement assessment of 4 lakhs, compelled thereto, as he subsequently bitterly complained, by the fear that otherwise settlement would be made with "that enemy of my life" (Damodar Singh).

This settlement of the Bishnupur pargana is an illustration of the injustices which were so often perpetrated at the time of the decennial settlement and the folly of making that settlement permanent.

It is not at first sight very clear why an assessment higher than the khas collections of Mr. Hesilrige warranted should have been imposed upon the estate, especially when we consider that certain assets (*e.g.*, *sair* collections) which had formed part of the khas collections before referred to, had since been abolished by the Regulations of Government and the zamindar was no longer authorised to collect them. The value of these abolished assets was subsequently in 1794 estimated by the Collector, Mr. Davis, to amount to over Rs. 10,000. There is, however, reason to believe that the Board of Revenue, when approving the assessment took into account "the latent resources of the estate" as disclosed by the enquiries made during the period of management of Mr. Hesilrige. These "latent resources" consisted in the power to resume all *chakran*, *jaiqir*, and invalid *lakheraj* grants and to settle them at full pargana rates.

That these resources were considerable admits of no doubt, though the value of many was conjectural, but they were almost without exception of a nature which could not be rendered immediately productive as assets. Seeing that Mr. Hesilrige, with all the support of

the Government behind him, had been unable to render them so, they could at best be considered as authorising a gradual and not an immediate increase on the *jama* estimated from the khas collections. The conclusion is inevitable that not only was the decennial settlement assessment of pargana Bishnupur unfair, but to make it permanent deprived Government for ever of the additional resources which, to the knowledge of Government existed, and which time and good management could not fail to make productive.

As might have been confidently predicted Chaitanya Singh had a large balance to his debit at the end of the first year of settlement. In the following year 1791 on the 6th April the Board of Revenue ordered the sale of a portion of the zamindari sufficient to cover the deficit. The mahals of Barahazari and Karisunda were accordingly put up for sale and purchased by Maharaja Tej Chand of Burdwan, the revenue being fixed at Rs. 2,14,147-2-11.

Now the Regulations had laid down that when a portion of a zamindari was sold, the assessment upon such lands should be fixed at an amount which should bear the same proportion to their actual produce, as the fixed assessment upon all the lands of the proprietor, including those sold, bear to the whole of their actual produce. Considering that the papers relating to Mr. Hesilrige's administration of the zamindari were in existence, and that from these the actual produce of the whole of the zamindari and of the portion sold could have been easily and with some degree of accuracy calculated, it is impossible to understand why these provisions were not observed. It is certain, however, that the revenue of the mahals sold was calculated by the Collector, Mr. Keating, on the actual net collections made during the year of Mr. Hesilrige's administration and during the year preceding it, and that the revenue assessment thus calculated was approved by the Board. By this means the total assets of these mahals were found to be Rs. 2,35,561-13-19, and deducting one-eleventh part as *malikana*, the revenue was fixed at Rs. 2,14,147-2-11. It has been shown that the revenue for the whole estate was not calculated on the khas collections of Mr. Hesilrige, but was fixed at a higher rate. It follows, therefore, that the portion sold was

underassessed in comparison with the assessment on the whole estate, and that the amount by which it was under-assessed fell as an additional yearly burden on the remaining portion of the estate left in the hands of Chaitanya Singh.

That the latent resources of the estate might have been made to yield a considerable income under an energetic administrator is clear from the fact that within a short time Maharaja Tej Chand increased by Rs. 40,000 the mufassal *jama* of the mahals purchased by him. Under the chaotic management of Chaitanya Singh the resources of that portion of the zamindari which remained to him continued to decline.

Left in the year 1791 with a *sadar jama* of Rs. 1,85,853 Chaitanya Singh failed to make the payments due, and in the month of *Kartik* of the next year the Collector, Mr. Keating, again attached the zamindari and appointed Jiwan Lal as *Sezawal* to collect the rents, giving him instructions also to resume the *chakran* and invalid *lakheraj* grants and to consolidate the *abwabi* with the *asal jama*.

This zeal on the part of Mr. Keating for the better management of the estate led to litigation with Maharaja Tej Chand. Most of the lands of the zamindari were formerly subject to a double *jama*, an *asal* (or main) *jama* and an *abwabi jama* subsequently imposed. In many instances these separate revenues of the same lands formed parts of the assets of distinct mahals.

Maharaja Tej Chand complained that some of these *abwabi jamas* had formed part of the assets of the mahals purchased by him, and that by their consolidation with the *asal jama* he had sustained an annual loss of revenue amounting to between Rs. 7,000 and Rs. 8,000. He accordingly instituted a suit in the Dewani Adalat against Raja Chaitanya Singh. The Board of Revenue being satisfied of the justice of his claims, eventually had the matter compromised and allowed a proportionate deduction from the *sadar jama* payable on his mahals.

The estate of Raja Chaitanya Singh remained under attachment till the year 1795 A.D., and the accounts of each succeeding year showed an accumulating balance in spite of an increase of Rs. 18,000 to the mufassal *jama* which

was the result of resumption of *lakheraj* and *chakran* lands made by the Sezawal under Mr. Keating's orders.

The Raja of Bishnupur after the sale in the year 1791 submitted a moving petition to the Board of Revenue imploring that some abatement should be allowed on his assessment and that he and his family might thereby be saved from ruin. The Collector, Mr. Davis, supported this petition declaring that the original assessment of 4 lakhs was greater than the estate could bear, the more so, as there had been certain sources of income collected by Mr. Hesilrige during his administration which the zamindar was thereafter debarred from collecting. He further proved conclusively that the portion of the estate sold had been underassessed and that consequently an additional burden had been put on the remainder which was left in the Raja's hand. In 1795 the Board finally relented and ordered the accumulated balance to be written off and the zamindar restored to the possession of his lands and the revenue payable by him to be calculated in the following way :

	Rs.
Amount realized from the mahals which still remained to the Raja in the <i>klas</i> collection of 1789	1,73,943 6 18 3
Deduct on account of sundry articles of collection abolished	15,133 10 10 0
	1,58,809 12 8 3
Add on account of resumption of <i>chakran</i> lands and consolidation of <i>abwabi</i> with <i>asal jama</i>	17,418 8 4 2
	1,76,228 4 13 0
Deduct on account of maintenance of the family of Chaitanya Singh	19,717 0 0 0
Deduct on account of annual allowance to <i>nadar amlas</i>	6,240 0 0 0
	25,957 0 0 0
Balance	1,50,271 4 13 0

and for this amount a quinquennial settlement was entered into by Chaitanya Singh at the instance of the Collector, Mr. Davis (and this is the revenue shown in the quinquennial papers submitted by Chaitanya Singh).

Even this reduced assessment the Raja was unable to meet, and defaulted at the end of his second year of management in 1797. It again became necessary to attach his estate and in 1798 portions of the zamindari rated at a *jama* of Rs. 1,00,291-10-7 were sold in five lots to liquidate the arrears of the year 1797.

But matters did not improve. Various members of the Raj family gathered round themselves bands of armed men, and fought sometimes among themselves, sometimes with others, and sometimes

indulged in indiscriminate plunder. Indeed, in the year 1799 A.D. the Sezawal Jiwan Lal reported that several villages round Bishnupur had been plundered and that the inhabitants of the town itself were seriously alarmed. The Raja Chaitanya Singh had not the power even if he had the will to keep the peace. It had become abundantly clear that there was no prospect under the Raja's own management, that the Government revenues would ever be punctually paid, and the Board of Revenue appears at this time to have had the intention of saving the remnants of the zamindari.

Accordingly in 1800 A.D. Mr. Suttan, a covenanted servant, was sent to administer the estate. In particular he was instructed to resume all *lakheraj* grants made since the decennial settlement, and in carrying out these instructions he was to pay no attention to the dates given in the *sanads* provided that the *hustabood* papers and the evidence of the raiyats showed that the lands had formed part of the assets of the estate at the time of the decennial settlement. The resumed lands were to be reannexed to the zaminari and assessed at the full pargana rates.

The Bishnupur zamindari had become much reduced after the sales in 1798 and the revenue payable to Government for this remainder was rated at Rs. 49,979-10-6. The assets were calculated by Mr. Blunt in 1802 A.D. to be Rs. 65,897-15-6 thus leaving the zamindar a profit of 30 per cent. Although at this time some resumptions had been made of *chakran* and invalid *lakheraj* grants, many still remained and hence the potential profits of the zamindar were very much greater.

In addition to this portion of the pargana which still remained to the Bishnupur family, Mr. Suttan and his successors—Commissioners of Bishnupur as they were called—were deputed also to have charge of the portions of the pargana which had been sold to Kashinath and Biswanath Banerji, Gouri Charan Choudhury and others. These purchasers had found it impossible to secure full possession of the purchased mahals, and their inability was due not only to the opposition of the Raja and his family but also to the fact that the lands of the mahals were spread over so many mauzas and so inextricably tangled

that it was impossible to separate the lands of each. Consequently in the year 1803 A.D., on the advice of Mr. Blunt, the Commissioner of Bishnupur, these purchasers were bought out, their purchase money with interest was returned to them, and this amount was added to the balance due from the zamindar and the lands were reannexed to the zamindari of Bishnupur.

But all these measures failed to save the estate. In 1805 A.D., a decree was passed against the Raja of Bishnupur in the Burdwan District Court, and to satisfy both the balances due to Government and the amounts due on the decree the Board of Revenue ordered the whole estate to be put up for sale. The balance due to Government amounted to no less than Rs. 1,87,916 and as it did to appear likely that any individual would be in a position to pay a sum sufficient to liquidate all claims, sanction was given for the purchase of the estate by Government. In the following year, however, 1806 A.D. a sum of Rs. 2,15,000 was bid by the Maharaja of Burdwan for the estate, which was accordingly transferred to him.

From this date the liability of the Raja of Bishnupur to pay revenue to Government ceased and hence his right to receive any payment as *mashhara*; pensions were, however, granted by Government to the various members of the family ranging from Rs. 400 per mensem in the case of Raja Mahdeo Singh to Rs. 5 per mensem in the case of Jay Singh Babu. The total pension list amounted to Rs. 997 monthly or Rs. 11,960 per annum.

The ancient zamindari of Bishnupur had, therefore, by the year 1806, passed for ever out of the hands of the old Raj family, and had been split up into ten separate revenue-paying estates.

It was the Sale Law, the Sunset Law, as it was called, which made the permanent settlement so unpopular among the zamindars of Bengal, and it has been seen how harshly this law operated in the case of Bishnupur. The position which the Rajas had so long occupied gave them a real claim on the affection and loyalty of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that when put to the test, the provisions of the Sale Law proved difficult of execution. The purchaser of an estate or a portion of an estate had to fear not only the

violence of the former proprietor but also the recusance of the tenants who refused to pay their rents to the auction-purchaser. The contemporary correspondence is full of complaints of purchasers of portions of the Bishnupur zamindari that they were unable to get full possession of their purchases, and so well justified were these complaints that eventually, on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Bishnupur, the lands purchased were again amalgamated with the main estate, and the purchasers received back their purchase money with interest. Even the Maharaja of Burdwan, into whose hands the bulk of the zamindari at length fell, found it difficult to secure possession and to collect the rents. His request, however, to be allowed to give up the lands and receive back the purchase money was not conceded, and it is probably only because he was himself a wealthy and powerful nobleman that he was eventually able to secure peaceful possession of the property.

36. The jungle mahals after the permanent settlement.—Very different were the circumstances of the settlement of the Jungle Mahals. At the time of the decennial settlement they consisted largely of forest and little or nothing was known of their resources. The assessment made upon them was consequently very light indeed. Moreover, as has been previously stated, under Regulation XIII of 1833 they formed part of the South-West Frontier Agency, within which territory the operation of the regulations was suspended. Later they were included in Manbhum also a non-regulation district, and it was not till 1872 that Chhatna was transferred to the Bankura district, the other mahals being transferred seven years later. For many years, therefore, the Jungle Mahal chiefs were preserved in possession of their zamindaries in spite of themselves. Their administration of their properties was, however, deplorable. Incompetent, vicious, given over to drug-taking, and surrounded by worthless advisers, they soon transferred the bulk of their property to tenure-holders on an almost nominal rent which was fixed for ever. To secure ready money by way of salami was their one endeavour.

When, therefore, this territory came under the operation of the ordinary revenue laws the sale of the zamindaries and the ruin of the old princely families

was swift and certain. Of all the mahals only three, Chhatna, Simlapal and Bhelaidiha have escaped sale, and the zamindar of Chhatna is in so precarious a financial condition that his property was lately under attachment for arrears of cess.

The history of the other mahals may be briefly told. Mismanagement, extravagance and disputed succession were the causes of the ruin of the proprietors. Their families have been reduced to a state of absolute destitution, and in some cases are dependent on the charity of the purchasers of the properties. Owing to their ancient descent and former prestige they retain some amount of influence and are still held in great respect by the people by whom they are accorded their old title of "Raja".

Supur was the first of the mahals to go. The father of the present Raja borrowed money which he was unable to pay, and the decree-holder, a widow of the Goswami family of Srirampur, applied to have the property sold in execution of the decree. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Dalton, rejected the application, but his decision was reversed by the High Court on appeal. Thereupon Mr. Dalton, being anxious to save some portion of the property for the family, divided it into nine parts according to the "Tarafs" which composed it. The original zamindari was thus formed into nine separate estates—Supur, Kundi, Indpur, Masiara, Lohat, Kulat, Bhedua, Harendrabani and Lalbazar (Nos. 981-989). Of these the last five were sold in execution of the decree in 1878. The present representative of the family Harischandra Dabal still retains a portion of the ancient zamindari and enjoys locally the title of "Raja of Khatra". His property is, however, heavily encumbered and he himself in very straitened circumstances.

The Ambikanagar property was sold in execution of a mortgage decree in the year 1889 and the Shyamsundarpur zamindari for arrears of cess in the same year. Both were purchased by Maharaja Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore. The latter did not, however, find the purchase a profitable venture. Most of the villages contained in the zamindari had been leased on permanent mokarari leases at very small rentals, and the income which remained to the zamindar was small. The Maharaja soon became financially

involved, and the management of his property was taken over by the Court of Wards in 1903. In 1908 both estates were sold and purchased as a speculation by Chandra Sekhar Sarkar, the veteran pleader of Bhagalpur, in the name of his wife Sarat Kamini Dasi.

This same Chandra Sekhar Sarkar purchased the Raipur zamindari in 1913 in execution of a mortgage decree, and thus the whole of the South-West of the district has fallen into the same hands.

Both Chandra Sekhar and his wife succumbed to the influenza epidemic in the year 1919, and the registered proprietors of the estates are their five sons. These latter have, however, failed to live in amity, and as a result of their quarrels a common manager has been appointed by the Court. The history of the sale of the Raipur property has been told in a later chapter dealing with disputes regarding fixity of rent.

Phulkusma, the last of these zamin-daries, was also sold owing to the extravagance of the proprietors. Sundar Narayan Deo, the last of the old Rajas to hold the property, borrowed large sums of money from Banwari Lal Singh, the proprietor of the neighbouring estate of Ramgarh in Midnapore. The property was sold in 1915 in execution of a money decree and purchased by the creditor.

The following is a complete list of estates on which revenue was assessed at the time of the Permanent Settlement, showing their area and revenue demand:—

Estates formed out of the Bishnupur zamindari.

Tanzl. No.	Name of Estate.	Area in acres.	Revenue.		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Bishnupur (Purchased by the Maharaja of Burdwan in 1806).	206,471.5	1,35,989	6	5
2	Barahazari (Purchased by the Maharaja of Burdwan in 1791).	131,943.5	1,92,633	5	9
3	Karkunda (Purchased by the Maharaja of Burdwan in 1791).	13,129	23,395	5	0
4	Jungle Mahal (Purchased by the Maharaja of Burdwan in 1798).	122,354.5	3,499	4	6
5	Kuchlakole (Purchased by Nemai Singh, son of Raja Chaitanya Singh in 1798).	8,542.5	8,237	10	0
6	Panchal (Purchased in 1798)	493	408	9	9
7	Jamtora (Purchased in 1798)	9,575.5	6,310	9	6
8	Mallara (Separated from the main estate and created an independent taluk by order of the Board of Revenue).	32,043.5	5,202	8	9
9	Saharjora (Created an independent taluk by order of the Board of Revenue).	16,623	3,110	0	5
10	Kismat Saharjora	4,665	1,556	10	3

Jungle Mahals.

Tauli. No.	Name of estate.	Area in acres.	Revenue.	
			Rs.	A. P.
988	Chhatna or Samantabhum	140,194	731	7 10
981	Lalbahar	24,464	325	12 8
982	Masara	5,957	91	15 0
983	Kundi	8,824.5	225	11 0
984	Harendrabani	12,358.5	78	8 0
985	Kulat	6,412.5	182	1 4
986	Indpur	4,863	40	10 0
987	Bhedua	8,941	113	7 0
988	Khatra	16,760.5	192	8 0
989	Lohat	29,593	505	11 6
990	Bhelaiddha	25,781.5	524	2 3
991	Phulkusma	35,763.5	212	9 8
992	Shyamundarpur	88,100	247	10 7
993	Simlapal	48,712.5	759	13 8
994	Ambikanagar	85,261	372	14 0
995	Raipur c	79,362.5	2,657	13 9

Formed out of the Supur Pargana.

In addition to these there is one large area, pargana Mohisara, comprising almost the whole of thanas Saltora and Mejhia and containing an area of 115,796 acres. This pargana belongs to the Pachete zamindari and the revenue is paid as part of this zamindari in the Manbhum Collectorate.

The above statement is interesting as showing the extraordinary difference in assessment to revenue as between the estates comprising the Bishnupur pargana and the Jungle Mahals. The assessment of the former averages about 10 annas per acre while that of the latter is less than 1 pie.

The revenue assessed at the time of the Permanent Settlement was thus Rs. 3,87,206-1-10 as against a present permanently settled revenue of Rs. 4,86,723, and the area for which the former revenue is paid is 1,283,000 acres as against the total area of the district which is 1,694,000 acres.

37. Increase in the Land Revenue demand subsequent to the Permanent Settlement.—The Land Revenue of the district has been increased since the Permanent Settlement in the following ways.—

- (1) By the resumption and assessment to revenue of lands held without payment of revenue under an invalid title.
- (2) By the resumption and assessment to revenue of lands formerly held free of assessment in consideration of the performance of certain police duties by the persons who held them.

(3) By the resumption and assessment to revenue of lands newly formed after the Permanent Settlement in the beds of rivers.

(4) By the purchase by Government of estates sold for arrears of revenue.

38. Resumption of lands held without payment of revenue under an invalid title.—Section 36, Regulation III of 1793, orders that the Decennial Settlement “is to be fixed independent and exclusive of all existing *lakheraj* lands, whether exempted from the *khiraj* (or public revenue) with or without due authority”.

Regulations XIX and XXXVII of 1793 lay down “that all grants for holding land exempt from the payment of revenue made previous to the 12th August 1765, the date of the Company’s accession to the Dewani, by whatever authority, and whether by a writing or without writing shall be deemed valid, provided the grantee actually and *bonâ fide* obtained possession of the land so granted previous to the date abovementioned, and the land shall not have been subsequently rendered subject to the payment of revenue by the officers or the orders of Government”. All such grants made since the 12th August 1765 and previous to 1st December 1790 by any authority other than that of Government, or of any officer empowered to confirm them, were declared invalid, and liable to be resumed by Government and assessed to revenue. All such grants made subsequent to 1st December 1790 were declared invalid and liable to be resumed by the proprietor without reference to any Court.

A full account of the various stages of the *lakheraj* resumption proceedings in the province, and the various rules and orders regulating them has been given by Mr. Ascoli in Appendix D to the Final Report of the Dacca Settlement. I propose, therefore, to confine myself to an account of the special circumstances and results of the resumption proceedings in this district.

From the end of the sixteenth century A.D. the Rajas of Bishnupur had become converts to Baishnabism, and, in accordance with the precepts of this religion, had been lavish in their free grants of land to Brahmans and to idols. Chaitanya Singh, who occupied the *gadi* when the district was ceded to

the Company in 1760 as part of the Chakla of Burdwan, surpassed them all in the number and extent of his gifts. In his day it was popularly said in Bishnupur that a Brahman who did not hold a free grant of land from the Raja was not a true Brahman.

Since before the Decennial Settlement until the time of its final sale in 1806 the zamindari of Bishnupur was more often under attachment than under the management of the zamindar. During this time the question of the resumption of invalid *lakheraj* grants had occupied the attention of the Company's officers. Some grants were resumed by Mr. Hesilrige and some were resumed subsequently by the Sezawal Jiban Lal.

From the year 1800 A.D. covenanted Civilians had been appointed to manage the estate under the title of "Commissioners of Bishnupur". One of the most important duties of the Commissioners was the resumption of invalid *lakheraj* grants. They were ordered to prepare a parganawar register of rent-free grants and to file suits before the Adalat of Burdwan when any grants appeared invalid or doubtful. An account of the efforts of Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Blunt, the most able and energetic of the Commissioners, will show with what difficulties they were faced and how small a measure of success they achieved.

The first step was the preparation of a parganawar register and with this object in view in 1801 Blunt ordered all claimants to *lakheraj* grants to appear before him either personally or by agent at his kutcherry within a month of the receipt of the notice. Not a single claimant appeared. Blunt then tried to get the necessary information from the Zamindar's Baze Zamin Duftar, but the records were asserted to have been accidentally destroyed by fire.

Finally the zamindar promised to draw up a faithful statement not only of lands held free of rent prior to the Decennial Settlement, but also of such alienations as had been made by him or by members of his family subsequently. He did in fact produce a list of many hundred different names, but stated that it was still incomplete as no memorandum had been kept of the ante-dated grants sold and distributed by each member of the family who had occasionally been entrusted with the

zamindari seals and the uncontrolled management of the estate.

But Blunt soon discovered that no reliance could be placed on this list, and shrewdly suspected that it was an erroneous fabrication prepared for the purpose of occupying his time with fruitless investigation and diverting his attention from the main object.

Blunt himself estimated the annual value of the resumable *lakheraj* grants in that portion of Bishnupur committed to his charge at Rs. 40,000 and this figure did not err on the side of over-estimate. Indeed the difficulties which faced the Commissioner in his task of resuming these grants were enormous. Some mention has been made of Chaitanya Singh's mismanagement of his zamindari after the district had been ceded to the Company. He was too incompetent to manage the zamindari himself, and too weak to control his relatives and followers. The result was that now one and now another of his relations assumed the management of the zamindari; and *lakheraj* grants of lands were made with unexampled profusion; some out of piety, some to raise money, and some to secure an influential backing for the donor.

Regulation XIX of 1793 declared invalid all *lakheraj* grants made subsequent to 12th August 1765. To circumvent the provisions of this Regulation, *sanads* creating grants subsequent to that date were ante-dated. Indeed in many cases 'Sanads' were forged. To substantiate such frauds endorsements purporting to be endorsements of the Baze Zamin Duftar, and letters of confirmation (*chhars*) were freely forged, and, moreover, the seal of that office and the signature of such officers as Messrs. Pye, Dawson and Hesilrige were frequently and successfully imitated. It was reported at the time that papers of this kind were to be purchased at Burdwan, Hooghly and Calcutta and that many persons supported themselves in affluence by this trade alone.

Section 24 of Regulation XIX of 1793 had made compulsory the registration of all grants claimed to be held free of revenue, and a register of *sanads* had apparently been opened in the Burdwan Collectorate in the year 1796 and the registers were filled up from statements (*taidads*) filed by the claimants. The work of registration did not, however,

proceed with much energy and, unfortunately, some of the *taidads* filed were destroyed by white ants. In 1799 orders were issued by the Board of Revenue for the summary resumption of the lands of all *lakheraj* grants not duly registered, and the result was the immediate filing of a prodigious number of *taidads*. It is said that no less than 70,000 were filed in the Burdwan Collectorate in one year.

It was, however, discovered at about this time that the notices required by the Regulation of 1793 had in many cases not been published. This discovery resulted in the passing of Regulation VIII of 1800 which not only prescribed new forms of registers but again ordered Collectors to publish notices and declared any lands not registered within twelve months of such publication to be liable to summary assessment.

No information is available regarding the amount of land resumed as invalid *lakheraj* between the date of the Decennial Settlement and the final sale of the remains of the Bishnupur zamindari in 1806. The position was practically impossible. The Board had ordered that all grants not registered should be summarily resumed and assessed, but that where registration had been effected suits should be instituted to prove the invalid title. The institution of suits was found to be impracticable and Oswald, Blunt's successor, asked for special powers to enable him to resume invalid grants as a Court. These special powers were refused. In fact the large number of *taidads* filed between 1800 and 1802 seems to have had the effect of stopping further action on the part of the authorities. In the few cases where summary resumption was proposed it was the common practice of the persons whose lands were proposed for resumption to assert that they had filed *taidads* but that these had been destroyed in the Collectorate by white ants.

It may have been that the authorities were too busy endeavouring to preserve order and security in the districts to devote much time to other matters, but no further action was taken until the passing of Regulations II of 1819 and III of 1828 had defined with precision the procedure to be adopted in resuming *lakheraj* grants. At length in the year 1835 Government appointed a special

Deputy Collector Mr. Taylor for the work of resumption. This was known as the period of the "Great resumptions".

The work of resumption consisted at first merely of drawing up proceedings and enquiring into the validity of the claims of the occupants of the lands. No measurement was made and the area given in the *taidad* filed by the claimant was accepted as correct.

Later a regular measurement of the lands was ordered, probably because it was found that the area entered in the *taidads* made no approach to accuracy. The survey was conducted under the superintendence of a special uncovenanted Deputy Collector, Babu Tarak Nath Ghose, and the area of the land contained in the grant was ascertained, field by field, by the simple method of chaining across the field each way and calculating the area by multiplying the length by the breadth. *Chittas* were then prepared and details of the classes of land given. The rates adopted in assessing these lands were those fixed by Mr. Keating in 1792 and known as Keating's "*nirikhnama*". They ranged from Rs. 3 to Rs. 2 per bigha for ordinary paddy (*sali*) lands, and from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per bigha for two-cropped (*sunu*) lands. It is interesting to note that the rates fixed by Mr. Keating in 1792 and adopted for the purposes of assessment in 1840 are the rates still subsisting at the present day. There has been no general enhancement of rents in the district since the time of the Permanent Settlement.

Under the Board's Circular No. 28, of the 18th November 1839, settlement was made ordinarily with the persons in possession on the basis of one-half of the gross assets. Sometimes 10 per cent. was allowed in addition to the proprietors on account of collection charges.

The resumption proceedings and the attendant measurements excited much discontent and there were frequent complaints of unnecessary harassment. It was felt too that, where the area was small, the addition to the revenue did not compensate for the cost of the proceedings. Accordingly in January 1841 a Government order was issued that no proceedings were to be started where the area in any village was less than 50 bighas. In deciding whether proceedings should be drawn up or not the area given in the *taidad* was to be the sole

criterion. From this order originated the "Nyunkhalasi" grants, so commonly found in the *Thak* statements of the district. These are grants which were released (*khalas*) because they were less than (*nyun*) 50 bighas.

Only lands actually under cultivation at the time were measured and assessed, as was natural from the method of measurement adopted, and no account was taken of waste and jungle lands. For this reason it was usual after assessment to make a temporary settlement for 20 years, as it was anticipated that within that period the whole area would have been brought under cultivation, and that a Permanent Settlement could then be advantageously made. These hopes were, however, frustrated by an order of the Governor-General in Council (Order No. 444, dated 13th January 1866) which laid down that all settlements of resumed *lakheraj* lands should be permanent, and that if any had been settled for a term of years only the settlement should at once be made permanent on the same terms as governed the temporary settlement.

The resumption proceedings had been extremely unpopular, and hence Government were anxious that the *Thakbast* and Revenue Surveys should not be in any way connected with them in the minds of the people*. In spite of this the resumption proceedings which had been continuing up to that date received a fresh impetus from the *Thakbast* Survey. In the course of this survey there came to light many cases of lands held revenue-free under invalid titles which had been unknown and unregistered before. Separate *chaks* were allotted to these lands in the *Thakbast* maps and enquiries into the validity of their revenue-free character were subsequently made. Resumptions continued to be made subsequent to the Revenue Survey, but with one or two exceptions there were no resumptions after the year 1870.

During the present settlement operations it was at first proposed to resume and assess to revenue all invalid *lakheraj* grants which had hitherto escaped resumption. But according to principles laid down in a Faridpur case in 1916 it was decided not to take action if it could be held that Government had had knowledge of the existence of the grant and had neglected to take action

for 60 years. All cases which came to light during the operations as having escaped resumption were either *chaked* in the *Thak* map or else a *taidad* of the grant had been filed in the Collectorate. In no case, therefore, were resumption proceedings initiated.

Such, in brief, is the history of the resumption proceedings in the district. A consideration of the facts enumerated below will, however, show that a large area liable to resumption in fact escaped assessment :—

- (1) It was a well-known fact that *sanads* and *chhars* had been forged in large numbers or had been antedated. It was difficult if not impossible to detect such forgery or fraud after an interval of 40 or 50 years. Details given in the *taidads* filed by the parties were, therefore, ordinarily accepted as correct with the result that a large number of invalid grants were released as valid.
- (2) Only cultivated lands were assessed. The area of waste and jungle lands included in the grants was very large, and the Government order of 1866 previously referred to precluded any possibility of assessing these waste and jungle lands to revenue.
- (3) According to the Government order of 1841 where the land of any grant in any particular mauza as shown in the *taidad* was less than 50 bighas in area it was exempted from resumption. The areas given in the *taidads* filed in this district are quite incorrect, and the above rule often involved the exemption of considerable areas.
- (4) The measurement of the lands was often done without adequate supervision with the result that there was frequently fraud on the part of the surveyors who concealed the real area due for resumption.

An account of an actual resumption will illustrate the methods which were employed during the proceedings and will give some idea of the revenue which has been lost to Government. The resumption case in question is No. 361 of 1844.

* Government letter to the Board of Revenue No. 403, dated the 13th April, 1842.

The land of the grant was registered in the Burdwan Collectorate as *debottar* on the strength of a *taidad* No. 52552 filed in 1209 B.S. The *taidad* showed that the *debottar* lands were contained in nine different villages. Against the validity of the grant Mr. Taylor, the Special Deputy Collector of Burdwan instituted proceedings under Regulations II of 1819 and III of 1828 calling on the parties to prove their title.

In support of their claim the parties produced a *sanad* alleged to have been granted in 1071 Bishnupur era, and a *chhar* said to have been granted by Mr. Hesilrige in 1196 B.S. in which the parties were stated to have been in possession of the lands of the grant since 1178 B.S. The case was decreed on the 17th July 1837 "allowing the proprietors the indulgence of a half rental settlement owing to their undisturbed possession from 1178 B.S. as shown in the *chhar* in question". The decree specified 319 bighas of land in mauzas Raniara and Dhadhika, the area which was shown in the *taidad*. Subsequently at the time of the general resumption in the district, it was found that the lands in Dhadhika, as shown in the *taidad*, were less than 50 bighas, and not having been measured or tested previously, were released with the sanction of the Deputy Collector of the district. The land ultimately left for settlement was 289 bighas 16 katas in mauza Raniara, which was, however, found on measurement, to amount to 395 bighas 15 katas 12 chattaks. Of this 6 bighas were found to be useless and 389 bighas 15 katas and 12 chattaks were brought under assessment.

For the measurement of the land an Amin, Ram Gobinda Roy, was appointed. He was dismissed for suppressing land during measurement, and one Madhu Sudan Mandal was appointed in his place. The latter was again replaced by Digambar Ray, who was not, however, required to make any fresh measurement and the measurements of Ram Gobinda Roy were accepted subject to re-examination. The final result was that Ram Gobinda Roy found the assessable area in Raniara to be 350 bighas, Madhu Sudan on re-examination calculated the area as 361 bighas, while the Deputy Collector in charge of the proceedings, Babu Tarak Nath Ghose, who himself camped for 14 days at Raniara, found the area to be 395 bighas, 15 katas, 12 chataks. The

gross assets were found to be Rs. 393-7-4 and the revenue was fixed at one-half of this amount—Rs. 146-11-8.

The property was then settled with Raja Gopal Singh of Bishnupur subject to the payment of this revenue on the 1st March 1845 and was entered on the revenue roll as Estate No. 211.

On the 20th September 1845 Raja Gopal Singh leased the estate out in *patni* to one Sitaram Sarma on the condition that he would pay the Government revenue direct and spend the balance realised from the lands for the worship (*seba*) of the idol. There is a significant clause in the *patni* lease to the effect that "when the waste and jungle lands which are in khas possession shall in future be resumed and settled, you will pay to the Collectorate half of the gross assets fixed as Government revenue and will spend the balance for the worship of the idol". This clause clearly shows that waste and jungle lands were not resumed, or assessed.

The same Deputy Collector, Babu Tarak Nath Ghose, was also in charge of the *Thak* survey of the district, and when the lands of the village were measured in this survey in 1856, just 11 years later, the area shown in the statement as appertaining to this estate is 2,041 bighas.

It will be clear from this account how great was the loss to Government revenue either owing to fraud or to the omission to assess waste and jungle lands.

The number of resumed *lakheraj* estates on the revenue roll of the district is 727, comprising an area of 1,42,003.5 acres or 222 square miles. The revenue payable to Government from these estates is Rs. 55,408-6-1.

Similar grants resumed during the same period are known as *ayema* grants. These were grants of land to Muhammadans free of revenue. These *ayema* grants are to be found only in thanas Indas and Kotalpur, which formerly belonged to the Burdwan district. The grants are almost all very small, many of them being less than an acre in area. The number of resumed *ayema* estates on the revenue roll is 98, comprising an area of 1,958 acres, and affording a revenue of Rs. 836-10-11.

39. Resumption of lands formerly held free of assessment or on a pepper corn rent in consideration of the performance of certain police duties.—Other estates, created subsequent to the Permanent Settlement, which are of considerable importance in this district, are those which were formed by the resumption and assessment to revenue of service lands formerly held rent-free or on payment of a small quit rent in return for the performance of police duties or quasi-police duties.

At the time of the passing of the Permanent Settlement Regulations a distinction was made between two classes of service lands—

- (1) Those which under the provisions of section 8, Regulation I of 1793, were excluded altogether from the *malguzari* lands as being police lands. These lands can be resumed by Government without consulting the zamindar.
- (2) Those which by the provisions of section 41, Regulation VIII of 1793, were included in the *malguzari* lands but were not assessed to revenue. In the latter case Government and the zamindar exacted service in lieu of revenue or rent.

A portion of this latter class (village chaukidari *chakran* land) was transferred by the provisions of Act VI (B. C.) of 1870 to a third class which was made resumable by a special procedure.

For the remainder of the second class of service lands there is no statutory procedure for resumption. Government, if it does not wish to retain the services of the holders, can only obtain a revenue in exchange for those services by an amicable agreement made both with the zamindars and the *chakrandars*.

When the question arises as to the resumption of the lands of persons holding service tenures on the ground that those services are no longer required, it is often a difficult matter to decide to which of these classes the lands belong.

In this district there are two classes of service lands which have been resumed by mutual agreement—

- (1) Ghatwali lands, and
- (2) Simandari lands.

40. The ghatwals.—The ghatwals of Bankura have formed an interesting

though troublesome problem of district administration up to modern times. They were employed originally by the Rajas of Bishnupur and neighbouring chiefs as a kind of feudal militia to defend their territories from the inroads of the Mahrattas, and from the depredations of the *choars* and generally to perform police duties. The term “ghatwal” is derived from the “ghats” or passes over the hills which in former times it was their principal duty to defend.

Regulation XVIII of 1805, by which the Jungle Mahal district was created, abrogating the provisions of section 32, Regulation XXII of 1793, expressly allows the charge of the police to be entrusted to the zamindar, and an examination of the old correspondence will show that the ghatwals of his zamindari remained under the Raja of Pachete as late as the year 1838. On the other hand the ghatwals of the Bishnupur pargana, and they form the bulk of the ghatwals in the district, came early under the authority of the Magistrate, after which time their duties differed little from those of ordinary village chaukidars.

Each ghat formed a separate and distinct unit in charge of a sardar or headman and under him a varying number of sadials and tabedars. In point of rank the sardar may be likened to the jemadar, the sadial to the daffadar, and the tabedar to the ordinary sepoy. In return for performing police duties the ghatwals of each ghat had lands assigned to them either free of rent or on payment of a small quit rent (*panchak*).

The ghatwals of Bankura differed widely from those of Birbhum. The latter had extensive blocks of land within specific boundaries made over to them on condition of protecting villagers and travellers within the limits of their property. The ghatwal was at liberty to entertain as many servants and dependants as he thought fit to enable him to discharge these duties, and these dependants were appointed and dismissed at his pleasure. In Bankura on the other hand the lands of each ghat were scattered over a number of villages, and the duties of the ghatwals lay mainly in guarding communications and not in the police work of any definite area. The ghatwals were not, however, ordinarily employed far from their homes.

Originally, it is true, the ghatwals of Bankura had formed a feudal organisation, the sardar holding his lands from the Raja, the sadials from the sardar and the tabedars again from the sadials. After the Permanent Settlement the superintendence over the police devolved on the Magistrate and with it the power of appointment and dismissal of all individual ghatwals. The feudal idea was thus lost sight of, and the practice came to be introduced for each ghatwal, be he sardar, sadial or tabedar, to pay his *panchak* direct to the zamindar, just as he received his grant of land direct from the Magistrate. Only in the Mohisara Pargana, which once formed part of the Manbhum District, do the dependent ghatwals in some cases hold their lands under the sardar, who alone deals direct with the zamindar. From their organisation, as also from their prestige as police officers, the ghatwals were a powerful body.

It is clear from the papers obtained from the Raja of Bishnupur by the Commissioner, Mr. Blunt, that the ghatwals had originally not the shadow of a claim to hereditary right in their land, and that the Raja could and very often did dispense with the services of the ghatwals and resume their lands. But, as so often happens in the East, the post of ghatwal and with it the ghatwali lands usually descended from father to son, and thus the ghatwals gradually came to regard themselves as having an hereditary claim to their lands.

The right of appointing and dismissing ghatwals seems never to have been in question. The only statutory enactment on the subject is contained in clause 7, proviso 5, of Regulation XVIII of 1805, but as early as the year 1806 in a letter from the Secretary to Government to the Magistrate it was enunciated: "The Governor-General is of opinion that the appointment of the ghatwals whenever these offices become vacant from death, desertion, or any other cause, should be vested in the Magistrate". During the half century which followed the creation of the Jungle Mahals as a district, appointments to the post of ghatwal were always made by the Magistrate, and a *sanad* given to the new incumbent. Throughout this period competent heirs of deserving ghatwals were usually appointed, but there is nowhere mention of any practice tending to confer hereditary rights.

In the seventies, in view of the large number of dacoities committed in the district, an attempt was made to utilise the services of the ghatwals by establishing them at fixed posts so as to patrol the lines of road which intersected their tenures. The result was no doubt to make the work demanded of the ghatwals more regular and also to employ them at a distance from their homes. Some of them in consequence evaded or disobeyed the orders of the Magistrate, and, as a result, were dismissed from their posts and ejected from their lands. Against this order of ejectment some the ghatwals, having exhausted the ordinary resources of executive appeal, sued in the Civil Court on the plea that their rights in the land were hereditary, and that they could not be deprived of them for any fault. The tendency of the Civil Courts was to reverse the decision of the Magistrate and to reinstate the ghatwals in their tenures, with the result that the Magistrates became doubtful of the legal extent of their authority.

Mr. Colman Macaulay, who had been Superintendent of Police when the system of patrolling was introduced, was put on special duty to report on the history and status of the ghatwals. On the basis of his report a Bill was drafted in 1876, in the time of Sir Richard Temple, regulating the duties of the ghatwals and defining their status. In this draft it was expressly stated that the ghatwals had no hereditary right to their lands, and that no suit for the recovery of possession of a service tenure, from which a ghatwal had been dismissed by the order of a competent authority, could be instituted in the Civil Courts. Owing to certain technical objections this Bill never became law, but the question of the rights of the ghatwals was ultimately set at rest by a judgment of the High Court in the year 1878 in a case brought by Poran Singh, a sardar ghatwal, who had been dismissed by the Magistrate. In this judgment it was held that a ghatwal could be dismissed by the Magistrate, and that the dismissal entailed forfeiture of the lands which he held only in virtue of his service as a ghatwal.

From the date of this decision little difference has been observed from an administrative point of view between the ghatwal and the chaukidar. As is the case with the chaukidar, it has been the custom to punish the ghatwal with fine.

and, in the event of continued bad work, with dismissal also. Similar defaulters' lists are sent up by the Sub-Inspector for both chaukidars and ghatwals, the only real difference being that the hereditary principle has been consciously followed when a vacancy occurs owing to the death of a ghatwal or his retirement owing to old age. On the other hand the practice of appointing an outsider to succeed a ghatwal dismissed for bad work has never been departed from.

During the Moghul period, under a more primitive administration, the ghatwali organisation may have worked well enough. Under the Company's régime the system has been almost universally condemned by all officers who have been concerned in its working; the general opinion of all Magistrates and Police officers being that the ghatwals were not only useless for the detection and repression of crime, but were themselves the principal dacoits and criminals of the district. The reason is not far to seek. By virtue of their profession the ghatwals were men trained to arms, and that, in the old lawless days, especially in the frontier districts, denoted men whose hereditary calling was dacoity and brigandage. Moreover, in early days at least the ghatwals suffered from exactions at the hands of the zamindars and their *amlas*. Seeing that they paid a small quit rent only or no rent at all for their lands, it was found convenient to extort money from them to meet unusual expenditure, and dacoity was a normal means of reimbursing themselves for these exactions.

The faults of the system were these :

- (a) A lack of definition of the duties of the ghatwals.
- (b) The unsuitability to modern conditions of the payment in land for police services.

While in the time of the Moghul Emperors the duties of the ghatwals were semi-military, under the Company they were vaguely defined as police duties, and the ghatwals appear, at some time or another, to have been required to carry out the following duties, which are those enumerated in the draft Bill of Sir Richard Temple—

- (1) To perform such general police duties as may be assigned to them.
- (2) To collect and communicate intelligence affecting the public peace.

- (3) To prevent the commission of offences.
- (4) To detect and bring offenders to justice.
- (5) To patrol roads.
- (6) To escort travellers.
- (7) To carry the official *dāk*.

The vagueness of these duties, coupled with the fact that the ghatwals could not apparently be employed at a distance from their ghats, was a serious obstacle to their efficient discharge. Nor was it to be expected that those whose whole attention was devoted to matters agricultural would be in a position to perform their police duties with the zeal which those duties merited.

The conditions under which the ghatwals held their land was no doubt well suited to the time when their duties were those of a militia liable to be called upon from time to time to assemble for the expulsion of a body of plunderers, but it was quite incompatible with the constant and conscientious discharge of the functions of a subordinate police.

These were not unfortunately the sole difficulties with which the Magistrate was faced. Owing to their position as landholders, the ghatwals were engaged in constant disputes over land with the neighbouring talukdars and zamindars. Even now the district contains a large area of waste and jungle lands. This area was far larger during the first half of the nineteenth century; the land adjoining the ghats would be gradually cleared either by the ghatwals themselves or by Santhals, and after reclamation it was claimed both by the ghatwals and by the talukdars. Both parties were averse to having recourse to the courts owing to the difficulty in proving their rights, and when a civil suit was instituted it was a difficult question to decide whether it should be the policy of Government to fight the case on behalf of the ghatwals or to leave them to fight their own battles. A further difficulty arose owing to the partial recognition of the hereditary principle. Relying on the fixity of their tenure, much of the ghatwali land had been given away to Brahmans, free of rent, or had been sub-let on *mokarari* leases, or had even been sold to mahajans to pay off debts, with the result that the property was rapidly diminishing in value. It was no easy

matter for the Magistrate to keep himself informed of these transactions, or to take steps to have them set aside.

During the early part of the nineteenth century there were two kinds of papers available relating to ghatwali lands. Firstly the papers made over to Mr. Blunt by the Raja of Bishnupur and secondly *matwari* papers prepared from time to time from the statements of the ghatwals themselves. These papers did not show the boundaries of the ghatwali lands but merely stated the *math* on which they lay. As the ghatwals had for generations been in possession of more lands than they were entitled to occupy according to their original contract with the zamindar, it was clearly to their interest to conceal the fact, and hence both the Bishnupur zamindari and the *matwari* papers show a far smaller area of land than the ghatwals actually possessed.

In the suits between ghatwals and talukdars which came before the local munsiffs for hearing, it appears to have been usual to accept the area shown in the *matwari* papers of 1816 as determining the lands to which the ghatwals were entitled. Nice questions of adverse possession and limitation do not appear to have troubled these officers. Some munsiffs indeed went back to the Bishnupur zamindari papers and gave their decree according to the area shown therein, and thus Government was in danger of losing the greater portion of a fine property.

In 1849 Mr. Elliot who had attained the position of Superintendent of Legal Affairs raised the question of the wisdom of allowing the ghatwals to fight their own battles in the courts, and advocated a survey of the ghatwali lands.

At length, so far as the courts were concerned, a series of rulings of the High Court finally settled the question of the rights of the ghatwals. In 1858 in a case brought by Raja Ananda Lal Deo it was held—

- (1) that though ghatwali lands were included in the lands permanently settled at the time of the Permanent Settlement, the zamindar was not entitled to resume them so long as Government required the services of the ghatwals.
- (2) that if the services of the ghatwals were dispensed with, the

lands would lapse to the zamindar and could not be resumed by Government.

Again in 1865 it was ruled by a Full Bench of the High Court that in suits for recovery or assessment of lands held by a ghatwal but claimed as *mal* by a zamindar, adverse possession and limitation could be pleaded as a bar to a claim to uncultivated lands in the same manner and to the same extent as cultivated lands.

Finally in 1867 in the case of *Erskine versus Dwarka Nath Singh*, in a decision which was confirmed by the Privy Council, the High Court held that *issmnarisi* papers were to be regarded as insufficient evidence on which to base a claim to excess lands, and that rent of ghatwali land which had been held as such since the time of Permanent Settlement, could not be enhanced whether the claim was made under sections 3 and 4 or under sections 15 and 16 of Act X of 1859, and that 16 years' possession was a bar to further assessment of rent under section 3 (3), Regulation II of 1805. These decisions had the effect of making the zamindars and talukdars anxious for an authentic survey and record of ghatwali lands.

In the district of Bankura, as at present constituted, the ghatwals fall into two distinct divisions: (a) the ghatwals of Bishnupur Pargana and (b) the ghatwals of the old Jungle Mahals, parganas Mohisara, Chhatna, and Supur. The majority of the ghats belong to the Bishnupur pargana and it is with these that we are principally concerned.

After the Permanent Settlement the zamindar of Bishnupur soon fell into difficulties in the payment of his land revenue, and by the year 1800 two-thirds of the lands of the zamindari had been sold for arrears of revenue. The difficulty experienced by the zamindars in the collection of rent from their tenants was one of the chief problems which faced the Company's officers after the passing of the Permanent Settlement Regulations. That the difficulty of collecting *panchak* from the ghatwals was peculiarly felt may be fitly illustrated by an extract from a letter written in the year 1794 by Mr. Davis, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue:—

"A species of mockurreydars," he writes, "termed ghatwals and others, who hold lands under fixed jummas, amounting together to about Sicca Rupees 12,000

hitherto regularly paid, whether under khas management or a zamindari settlement, but being, in consequence of the police arrangements, now put under the police darogah. . . .

" These landholders deny any obligation of service due to the Zamindar, and refuse to pay rent, and the local circumstances of the case being such as to render recovery of the demand, by rules laid down for distraint, impossible, more especially as they are encouraged in this contumacy by the darogahs, the proprietors have no other resource than an application to the dewany adawlut where prompt decision is impossible."

It was this contumacy of the ghatwals and the interference of the darogahs that induced the Raja of Bishnupur to agree to the proposal of Mr. Blunt, Commissioner of Bishnupur, for the separation of the ghatwali lands from the zamindari. From his experience of the pargana Mr. Blunt was convinced that the inefficiency of the ghatwals was largely due to their continued connection with and dependence on the zamindar. It was a practice of the zamindar to deprive the ghatwals of valuable portions of their lands by letting them out to others at a higher *jama* or by granting them free of rent, for the low assessment of these lands rendered him less a loser than he would have been had he assigned an equal area of land held under any other tenure. To these oppressions could be traced both the inefficiency of the ghatwals and their proneness to commit dacoities and robberies.

It was Mr. Blunt's conviction that the ghatwals could be turned into an efficient and useful body of men provided all connection between them and the zamindar was severed and they were made entirely dependent on the Magistrate for all purposes and paid their *panchak* to him also. Reluctant at first to part with even so unprofitable a part of his zamindari, the Raja eventually agreed on the following conditions :—

- (a) that his revenue should be reduced by the amount which he was entitled to receive from the ghatwals by way of *panchak*;
- (b) that, should the establishment of the ghatwals at any time be considered unnecessary, or should their lands at any time be resumed, they should be re-annexed to the zamindari;

(c) that he be relieved from payment of the balance of revenue due from the ghatwali mahals which had accumulated since his estate had been under attachment. The difficulty which had been experienced in realising *panchak* formed an equitable reason for accepting this third condition.

It must be remembered that these proposals concerned only that portion of the Bishnupur zamindari which still remained to the Raja and for which Mr. Blunt was responsible, that is, the area now entered on the revenue roll of the district as tauzi No. 1.

Mr. Blunt submitted his report in August 1802; in this he showed the number of ghats paying *panchak* to the Rajas as 43, the number of ghatwals employed as 2,299, the area of the land as 35,282 bighas, and the *panchak* payable as Rs. 4,690-12-7. In the same month orders were passed confirming the separation from the zamindari of the ghatwali lands, and the abatement of the revenue payable by the Raja by the amount of the *panchak* was sanctioned. The ghats thus separated and placed directly under Government were created into separate estates and were given numbers 11 to 53 on the revenue roll of the district. They were thereafter known as Sirkari Panchaki Ghats. Ghats in other parts of the district which continued to pay *panchak* to the zamindars were known as zamindari Panchaki Ghats; and besides these there existed 11 ghats which paid no *panchak* at all. These were known as Bepanchaki Ghats.

As a result of the dissatisfaction felt at the Ghatwali organisation from the point of view of police service, numerous proposals had been made from time to time for its abolition. The difficulty was to decide on what conditions the service due from the ghatwals was to be abolished.

It has been seen above that the ghatwals were divided into three classes, (1) Sirkari Panchaki, (2) Zamindari Panchaki and (3) Bepanchaki.

In spite of the opinion to the contrary expressed in the memorandum prepared in 1872 by Mr. Drummond, Collector of Bankura, it must, I think, be held that the lands of the third class were annexed to the *malguzari* lands within the meaning of section 41, Regulation VIII of 1793. The *panchak* of the second class, of course, formed part of the assets of the

estate on which the Decennial Settlement assessment was based. While in regard to the Sirkari Panchaki Ghatwals there was an express stipulation at the time of the arrangement made between Mr. Blunt and Raja Chaitan Singh that the lands should revert to the zamindari in the event of the abolition of the ghatwals or the resumption of their lands. Thus, as pointed out by Mr. Drummond, whereas it was to the interest of both to abolish the ghatwals, the Government had no statutory authority to resume and assess the lands, while, even if the ghatwals were released from their burden of service, the zamindars were debarred from receiving any benefit in the shape of increased rents.

Three methods of dealing with the situation are stated in Mr. Drummond's memorandum as being open to Government :—

- (1) The unconditional surrender of the lands to the ghatwals and the withdrawal of the Government claim to service.—Even this extreme course had been advocated by some Magistrates as being preferable to the retention of the ghatwals as police.
- (2) The commutation of the services of the ghatwals by the ~~exaction~~ of money payment from them.—This was the proposal of Mr. Bell, the Legal Remembrancer. This proposal was opposed by Mr. Drummond on the ground that it meant virtually the throwing away of a valuable property.
- (3) The offer of a bonus to the zamindars in return for the surrender of their rights; to be followed, if accepted, by the dismissal of the ghatwals as police servants, and a resettlement of their lands with them on a fresh basis.—This was the proposal advocated by Mr. Drummond himself.

An essential preliminary to any scheme for the abolition or reorganisation of the ghatwali system was a detailed knowledge of the extent and boundaries of the ghatwali lands. During the early period of the British administration the only information available was compiled from the statements of the ghatwals themselves, which, for reasons before mentioned, was quite inaccurate.

The first officer who took any steps to secure accurate information on the subject was Mr. Elliot who was Joint Magistrate of Bankura in 1836. This officer prescribed a statement which was to be filled up at the time of the appointment of a new ghatwal, and was to show both the area of the ghatwali land according to the *issmnarivissi* papers and the area found on measurement together with the boundaries of the land at the time when the new ghatwal was put in possession. This new procedure, which provided for a measurement and record of ghatwali land at the time of any new appointment, would gradually, as the old ghatwals died off, have afforded an accurate record of all ghatwali lands and actually proved of material assistance at the time when a survey of ghatwali lands was taken up.

Mr. Elliot interested himself again in the matter when he became Legal Remembrancer in 1849, dissented vigorously from his predecessor's policy of leaving the ghatwals to fight their own battles in the Civil Court against the claims of the zamindars to lands held as ghatwali, and proposed a survey of all ghatwali lands, as the only method of ascertaining the extent and preventing the alienation of the property. To the proposal for a survey the Board of Revenue assented, and the Deputy Collector, Babu Tarak Nath Ghose, who was also in charge of the *thakbast* survey, was ordered in June 1850 "to effect a detailed measurement of the ghatwali lands now in the possession of the ghatwals, or included in the *matwari* papers."

Before considering the details of this and subsequent surveys it will be interesting to consider the information regarding the ghatwali lands which was at the disposal of the authorities at that time. It must be remembered that, previous to 1880, the Jungle Mahals were included in Manbhum and were outside the district of Bankura. The figures given below apply, therefore, to the ghats contained in Bishnupur pargana only.

According to the list prepared by Mr. Blunt, the Commissioner of Bishnupur in 1802 the number of ghatwals belonging to the 43 Sirkari Panchaki Ghats, at that time separated from the zamindari, was 2,299 and the *panchak* payable by them to Government was Rs. 4,690. From information collected about the year 1840 it appears that the number of ghatwals belonging to the Zamindari Panchaki Ghats was 1,485, and the *panchak*

payable by them to the zamindars was stated to be Rs. 6,323.

The area of the Sirkari Panchaki Ghats is given in Mr. Blunt's list as 35,320 bighas, in the *matwari* papers of 1816 as 41,620 bighas, and in the *matwari* papers of 1845 as 58,506 bighas. The area of the Zamindari Panchaki Ghats was shown in the *matwari* papers of 1816 as 14,710 bighas, and in the papers of 1845 as 24,863 bighas. The area of the Bepanchaki Ghats is given in the *matwari* papers of 1845 as 2,200 bighas.

Babu Tarak Nath Ghose surveyed a portion only of the Sirkari Panchaki Ghatwali lands, and calculated the area to be 85,000 bighas. When so much of the area had been measured, the survey was stopped owing to the uncertainty of the result of such an irregular survey and also on account of the innumerable claims advanced during the progress of the operations.

The necessity was felt for a more regular survey, when such claims could be properly disposed of. Accordingly it was decided that the advent of the Revenue Survey should be awaited, during the course of which the boundaries of the ghatwali lands might be demarcated. In fact the boundaries of the ghatwali lands were shown in the *thakbast* maps, though no demarcation was made on the ground. As a result of this survey in Bishnupur pargana alone 136,536 bighas were measured as Sirkari Panchaki: 2,971 bighas as Bepanchaki: and 130,358 bighas as Zamindari Panchaki Ghatwali lands.

The magnitude of the area thus found in the possession of the ghatwals at a rent which was insignificant and on condition of doing service whose usefulness had been continually challenged, made some solution of the problem more urgent than before, but it seems for some reason to have been lost sight of, and it was many years before steps were taken to abolish the ghatwals and to resume their lands.

In the year 1877-78 there was a great increase in crime in the districts of Manbhum and Bankura, and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Baker, was sent to enquire into the organisation and the working of the police in those districts. He reported that the work of the ghatwals was thoroughly bad, and suggested that there should be a survey and demarcation of ghatwali lands in

both districts, and that the ghatwali tenures should gradually be taken possession of by Government as the posts fell vacant, and that thus a fund should be raised which should be used to entertain an efficient body of police. On perusal of this report Government agreed* that the ghatwali lands should be surveyed under Act V of 1875. The orders appear to have been issued without consulting the local officers, and this is possibly the reason why the survey of 1856 was not brought to the notice of Government, for the question whether any further survey at all was required does not seem to have been raised.

The work was started in Bankura on the 1st July 1880 under the charge of a special Deputy Collector, Babu Krishna Dayal Singh, and by the 31st August 1884 only 429 villages (270 in Gangajalghati and 159 in Onda thana) had been demarcated. The proceedings were found dilatory and attended with unnecessary litigation; they were accordingly stopped under Government order from the 1st September 1884. At the close of the same year orders were again received to proceed with the survey under the superintendence of Mr. H. H. Risley who drew up fresh rules, according to which the proceedings were to be regulated.

The survey of Babu Krishna Dayal Singh was based not only on actual possession and on the boundaries as shown in the *thakbast* survey of 1851-56, but also on the *chittas* prepared by Babu Tarak Nath Ghose in 1851 and on previous *issmnarisi* papers. Any paper which could point to any lands as being ghatwali was taken into account. The result was an enormous increase in litigation both in the Revenue and Civil Courts. The survey of Babu Krishna Dayal Singh, moreover, was quasi-cadastral and showed the holding of each ghatwal and a minute description was given of the different classes of land.

In order to avoid litigation Mr. Risley proposed that the chaks in the *thakbast* maps should be taken as the basis of the new survey, and in order that it might be completed in reasonable time only the external boundaries of the lands of each ghat were surveyed, the internal boundaries being left to be settled by the ghatwals themselves. The Jungle Mahals comprising thanas Chhatna, Simlapal,

* Government letter No. 2492, dated the 31st May 1879.

Raipur and Khatra, had at the time of the *thakbast* survey formed part of the Manbhum district, and in the *thakbast* survey of that district there was no demarcation of ghatwali lands. In these mahals, therefore, it was ordered that the survey of the ghatwali lands should proceed according to possession. This survey was completed on the 30th September 1887, and the total area of the land surveyed as ghatwali was 521,700 bighas. Of this 169,000 bighas were measured as Sirkari Panchaki, 350,000 bighas as zamindari Panchaki, and 2,700 bighas as Bepanchaki Ghatwali land.

The Deputy Collector in charge of this survey was Babu H. C. Rai. As a result of these operations the boundaries of the ghatwali lands were indeed ascertained with a fair degree of accuracy, but, curiously enough, no steps at all were taken at this time either to reorganise or to abolish the ghatwali system of police, which was the object for which the survey was undertaken. When steps were at length taken in 1894 to abolish the ghatwals it was the complaint of the landholders that was responsible for the initiation of the proposals, though the continued dissatisfaction felt with the work of the ghatwals provided the reason which induced Government to sanction the proposal.

Memorials were received from Messrs. Watson & Co. and from Messrs. Gisborne & Co. who held *ijaras* under the Bishnupur and Raipur zamindaries. These companies pointed out that the original area of the ghatwali lands, according to the statement prepared in 1802, was only 63,834 bighas, 35,283 bighas of Sirkari Panchaki and 28,551 bighas of Zemindari Panchaki lands, whereas the area held by the ghatwals had been found out at the recent survey to be 521,700 bighas. They complained that the excess area was due to the encroachments of the ghatwals made without a shadow of right. The reason for doubting the accuracy of the figures prepared in 1802 has already been given, and at any rate the ghatwals had by adverse possession become entitled to the bulk of the lands occupied by them.

The memorials of the companies were sent for report to Mr. R. C. Dutt, the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division. The latter recommended the abolition of the ghatwals as a police agency on the ground that their services were no longer required and that their work was most

unsatisfactory. He pointed out that action could only be taken to resume the lands of the ghatwals after freeing them from the burden of service as the result of a compromise between the Government, the zamindars and the ghatwals. The zamindars would, he thought, agree to a resumption because they would thereby receive a considerable addition to their rents, while the ghatwals whose position, owing to the number of dismissals, had become more precarious of late years, would be not unwilling to pay a fair rent for their lands in return for security of tenure.

Administrative sanction* was obtained to the Commissioner's proposals, and it was decided to relieve the ghatwals of the service due from them and to resume* and assess their lands according to the following rules:—

- (1) That the survey of 1880-87 should be accepted as showing the extent of the ghatwali land in the district, and that there should be no fresh measurement except in cases where the Settlement Officer thought necessary.
- (2) That the lands of the ghatwals should be fully assessed at the ordinary local rates, but that they should receive a remission of 25 per cent. on the rent thus calculated in consideration of their long possession of the land at a quit rent or at no rent at all.
- (3) That the rent so assessed should be fixed for ever and that the ghatwals should hold their lands as permanent tenure-holders, a status which gave them heritable and transferable rights.
- (4) These rents were to be paid to the zamindar who in his turn was to pay to Government as revenue one-half of the amount which he received as rent.
- (5) That the amount of the *panchak*, if any, formerly paid by the ghatwal to the zamindar should be deducted from the revenue of the parent estate.

In the same year 1894, Babu Jnan Sankar Sen, Deputy Collector, was appointed Settlement Officer to superintend the work. Under the orders of Government work was started in a few

* Government letter No. 760 L.R., dated the 14th October 1894.

selected ghats in the first instance for the purpose of experiment in January 1895. The Sirkari Panchaki and the Bepanchaki Ghats were taken up first for resumption, and the work presented little difficulty. The resumption of the Zamindari Panchaki Ghats caused more trouble, and many questions were raised by Raja Ban Behari Kapur, the Manager of the Burdwan Raj, especially on the subject of the status to be given to the ghatwals in respect of the lands to be resumed. It was eventually agreed that the ghatwals should hold their lands as permanent *mokarari* tenure-holders. The bulk of the work was finished in 1900, but in the case of some ghats the resumption was delayed and was not completed till 1908.

In the Mohisara Pargana the Pachete Raja objected that the ghatwali rents had been assessed too low, while some of the ghatwals in Gangajalghati thana complained that the rents had been assessed too high, and in Khatra and Rairpur thanas also there was objection in some ghats either on the part of the proprietor or of the ghatwals. In these cases resumption could not be effected. It appeared, moreover, that the work of survey and settlement had not been well done. Consequently the Board of Revenue in its letter No. 944A; dated the 19th February 1906, to the Commissioner of the Division ordered that the proceedings should be stopped and that the lands remaining to be resumed should await the coming of the district settlement operations.

During the proceedings described above, the original 43 Sirkari Panchaki Ghatwali estates were resumed and assessed. These 43 Ghats comprise an area of 46,773.9 acres and the revenue assessed on the lands is Rs. 17,542-10. The *panchak* formerly payable to Government by the ghatwals of these ghats was Rs. 5,003-7, so that the net annual gain, in Government revenue was Rs. 12,539-3. Besides these 174 new estates were created out of Bepanchaki and Zamindari Panchaki Ghats resumed. The total area of land of these ghats resumed during the proceedings of Babu Jnan Sankar Sen was 77,746.9 acres, and the revenue assessed on this land was Rs. 19,779-11-2.

Only ten years elapsed between the resumption proceedings above described and the district settlement operations, but in the course of the operations it was found that the great majority of the

ghatwals with whom settlement had been made had already alienated their tenures, which are now largely held by mahajans. It is probable that the ghatwals, so long accustomed to hold their lands at a quit rent, were unable to adopt themselves to the new conditions and to pay the enhanced rent which had been imposed upon them.

41. **Resumption of the remaining ghats during the District Settlement operations.**—On the 10th July 1918 I addressed the Collector of Bankura on the subject of the resumption of the remaining ghats. The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, to whom the matter was referred, directed in his letter No. 581 T—R.G., of the 22nd August 1918, to the address of the Collector of Bankura, that resumption should be made on the same conditions as previously, and that the work should be done along with the district settlement operations. He laid especial stress on the necessity for the speedy completion of the proceedings and proposed that assessment of the lands should be made and should take effect before the final publication of the record of rights.

On the 16th January 1919 a conference was held at the Circuit House in Bankura at which the Commissioner, the Collector, the Settlement Officer and the Government Pleader were present. At this conference the method of procedure and assessment were discussed.

As a result of this conference the Collector addressed a circular letter to all proprietors and ghatwals concerned enquiring whether they were willing to agree to a resumption of the remaining ghatwali lands on the same terms as previously. Affirmative replies were received in all cases. The proceedings were then referred to the Settlement Department.

A statement was compiled by the Collector from the figures prepared during the previous resumption proceedings. According to this statement it appeared that lands of 32 ghats in the occupation of 334 ghatwals remained for resumption.

During the course of the operations lands in four ghats in the occupation of four ghatwals were discovered which had escaped resumption and had not been mentioned in the statement. In three cases the land now brought to light as ghatwali belonged to ghats of

which the remaining lands had been resumed and settled during the former proceedings.

The fourth case concerned the lands of Ghat Khursole in thana Ranibandh, a Bepanchaki Ghat which had altogether escaped notice during the previous proceedings. It was found that the lands of this ghat had been sold by the former ghatwal as resumed ghatwali land to the tenure-holder of Mauza Burdiha in which village the land lay. The Collector was, therefore, moved to appoint a ghatwal for this Ghat, and the land was then resumed and settlement made with the man so appointed.

The lands of Ghat Kulat, a Bepanchaki Ghat given in the Collector's list, could not be traced. The ghatwals themselves, however, were working as such and it was found that they were receiving annually Rs. 10 from the tenure-holder of the village. The ghatwali land had presumably been previously alienated to the tenure-holder on condition of this payment, but after the lapse of time the ghatwali lands could not be separated from the lands of the tenure. Accordingly it was proposed that the services of these two ghatwals should be transferred to the Chaukidari Union in which the village lay. This proposal received the approval of Government in their letter No. 1032 T.R., of the 4th June 1920.

There remained, therefore, for resumption lands of 35 ghats in the occupation of 334 ghatwals. Of these 35 ghats, part of the lands of 14 had been resumed in the former proceedings and only the remainder was left for resumption. Five of these 35 ghats were Bepanchaki.

The method adopted in assessing the ghats to revenue was as follows:—

The total assets of the lands were first calculated, from these assets 30 per cent. was deducted as collection charges and from the remaining 70 per cent. a further deduction of 25 per cent. was made as in the former proceedings out of consideration for the fact that the ghatwals had hitherto held their lands at a nominal rent or altogether free of rent. The rent thus calculated was to be paid to the proprietor of the parent estate, who was to pay 50 per cent. of the amount to Government as revenue. The amount of the *panchak* hitherto paid by the

ghatwal to the proprietor was to be deducted from the total revenue of the parent estate. The status of the ghatwals in respect of the lands resumed was to be that of permanent tenure-holders at fixed rents, and they were, of course, freed for ever from their liability of service.

The calculation of the assets was a difficult matter except when the tenures included cash-paying tenancies, because for the purpose of such calculation a table of rates had to be framed. The preparation of a table of rates was difficult because the rentals of tenancies in the district are lump rentals and not based on any calculation of rates. The methods adopted in finding out the rates for the various classes of lands were these:—

- (1) Holdings in the same or neighbouring villages consisting of one class of land were taken, and the rate of rent for this class of land was thus calculated.
- (2) The amount of produce rent per bigha for the various classes of land was ascertained by enquiry, and by this means the proportionate rental value of the various classes of land was calculated.
- (3) The sale price per bigha of the various classes of land was ascertained and thus the proportionate rental value was calculated.

The assessments were made by the Attestation Officers themselves during attestation in consultation with the ghatwal and the agents of the proprietors, and an amicable agreement was thus arrived at.

The completion of the proceedings was inordinately delayed owing to the discussions as to the wording of the *patta* and *kabuliyat*. In the previous *patta* a clause had been inserted stating that the rights to the minerals in the land belonged to the proprietors. I was of opinion that this clause should be omitted. After much correspondence, however, it was decided that the clause should be retained, and it was held that the insertion of such a clause in *patta* and *kabuliyat* could not affect any claim which Government might make in the future, seeing that the indenture contained no such clause. The form of

patta and *kabuliyat* was finally approved by Government in their letter No. 2758 L.R., dated the 11th April 1921, and the work of execution and registration of *patta*, *kabuliyat* and indenture was taken in hand after receipt of this sanction.

A further difficulty arose in a few cases where a tenure-holder intervened between the proprietor and the ghatwal, but it was finally decided with the approval of Government that these tenure-holders should be altogether ignored in the proceedings and should be left to settle their claims with the proprietors.

The execution and registration of *patta*, *kabuliyat* and indenture were often attended with much delay especially in cases where many co-sharers were in question, and even at the time of the writing of this report registration is not in all cases complete. The *kabuliyats* in the case of minor ghatwals were executed by guardians appointed by the District Judge, and *pattas* were executed after *kabuliyats* so that they might be considered as counterparts of *kabuliyats* under Article 25 (B) Schedule I A of the Bengal Stamp (Amendment) Act, 1922, and a stamp duty of rupee one and annas eight was charged on the *patta*. This procedure was finally decided in consultation with the District Registrar on the 22nd May 1922. Under a special Government notification No. 3616 Exec., dated the 16th July 1909, the stamp duty on *kabuliyats* executed by ghatwals was reduced to the amount payable in respect of a conveyance for a consideration equal to the amount or value of the average annual rent reserved. The registration fee was paid in all cases by the proprietors. The form of indenture is the same as in the former proceedings. In it the names of all the ghatwals in the ghat are given with the rent payable by each to the proprietor. The plot numbers of the land resumed have also been given together with the area of each plot. The stamp duty on an indenture is annas twelve to be paid in equal shares by the parties. The proprietors have paid their share annas six, while Government have been exempted from paying their share.

The proceedings in the case of all ghats were completed after the final publication of the record and after the original decision in cases under sections 105 and 106 of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

The results of the proceedings are shown in Appendix VII of the report. The whole cost of the work has been realised from the proprietors and the ghatwals. The final result of the resumption of ghatwali lands in this and the former proceedings is given below :—

Number of ghats resumed.	Area.	Revenue assessed.			Panchak originally paid.		
	Acres.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
43 Sirkari Panchaki Ghats.	45,773·9	17,542	10	0	5,003	7	0
174 Bepanchaki and Zamindari Panchaki Ghats.	77,746·9	19,779	11	2	5,563	10	11
35 Bepanchaki and Zamindari Panchaki Ghats.	22,029·04	6,691	3	1	1,874	14	10
Total 252	146,149·84	44,013	8	3	12,442	0	9

The net annual gain to Government in revenue is, therefore, Rs. 31,571-7-6.

It will be seen from Appendix VII that, at the time of writing this report, resumption in the case of 44 ghatwals with a proposed revenue of Rs. 1,374-14-8 is still incomplete. Of these 44 ghatwals *kabuliyats* have been executed in the case of 26, and the proceedings are only pending for the registration of *patta*. Of the remaining 18, in one case the ghatwal is a minor and the District Judge has been moved to appoint a guardian for him. In the balance of the cases 9 ghatwals have refused to consent to resumption and 8 have objected to the rates of assessment. As the settlement operations are now being closed the proceedings in these few cases have been made over to the Collector. It is, of course, desirable that no ghatwali lands in the district should remain unassessed, but resumption cannot be made without the consent of the ghatwal, and the Collector is in a better position than the Settlement Officer to put pressure on the ghatwal to consent to resumption.

42. Resumption of simandari lands.—Simandari lands were lands which were held free of rent on condition of performing service. The origin of the simandars is lost to obscurity. They are, of course, those who keep the boundary (*simana*) and were perhaps originally appointed to keep watch and prevent crime in the fields or uninhabited part of the village as distinguished from the inhabited part or village proper which was the care of the chaukidar. The simandars were a body peculiar to the Burdwan district, and in Bankura they were found only in thanas Indas and Kotalpur which belonged formerly to the Burdwan district.

In the year 1897 orders of Government were received that the simandari lands in Burdwan district should be resumed as police lands or as chaukidari *chakran* lands according to the special circumstances of each case, and they were in fact resumed as chaukidari *chakran* lands. These orders were extended by the Commissioner to Bankura also. The Collector of the district, however, reported that the incidents of the simandari tenure differed from those of the chaukidari *chakran*, and he was accordingly ordered to follow the procedure adopted in resuming *phanridari* lands. To this Raja Ban Behari Kapur, the Manager of the Burdwan Raj, objected, contending that the attributes of the simandari lands were similar to those of the chaukidari *chakran* lands, and that the zamindar has an interest in the lands and a right to services from simandars in at least as great a degree as was the case with the chaukidari lands.

In view of the fundamental difference of opinion between the Collector and the Manager of the Raj, a report was called for on the origin of and the duties performed by the simandars. It was found impossible to trace their origin, nor was any information to be obtained from the public records as to whether the simandars rendered any private service to the zamindars over and above their services to the public and to Government. The simandars were appointed and dismissed by the Magistrate and a complete register was kept showing the names of and the lands held by each. They were recognised as watchmen under Government and rendered various police duties and had to attend at the thana regularly. Many of the simandars had held their lands from generation to generation, and the right of heirs to succession, subject to removal for misconduct, had ordinarily been taken into consideration. In addition to their enjoyment of the simandari lands, the simandars were entitled by village custom to get for each bigha of land four bundles of paddy with straw from each raiyat for watching the crops within their respective areas. Moreover, most of the simandars had also raiyati holdings under the zamindar for which they paid separate rent. They rendered certain customary service to the zamindars, not, it was alleged, as simandars but as such raiyats.

Again there is no information as to whether simandari lands were included

in the *malguzari* lands at the time of the Permanent Settlement. The quinquennial and other papers are silent on the point. The simandari lands were not measured during the thakbast survey although the chaukidari *chakran* lands were demarcated.

On a consideration of these facts it was held that, whereas simandari lands could not be said to be chaukidari lands and were not, therefore, resumable under Act VI of 1870, the evidence was insufficient to prove the exclusive right of Government to the lands. Accordingly it was decided that the lands should be resumed and settled by amicable agreement between the Government, the zamindars and the simandars.

The Commissioner's proposals were that the resumption should proceed on the lines adopted in the case of the ghat chaukidars of Birbhum, viz:—

- (1) That the Government revenue should be one-half of the amount of the rent assessed for the simandari lands.
- (2) That the assessment of the simandari lands should be at half the rates paid for similar lands in the locality.
- (3) That the rent thus assessed should be fixed for ever.
- (4) That on the death of the present holder his successor should be liable to no enhancement except such as the zamindar could obtain under the law.

These proposals the Manager of the Burdwan Raj definitely refused to accept and persisted in his contention that the simandari lands should be resumed as chaukidari *chakran*. In deference to these objections a conference was held between the Collector, the Raj Manager and a pleader on behalf of the simandars, at which it was proposed that the simandars should be assessed at full rates but should be given *mokarari* rights. No agreement was arrived at as a result of this conference because the Raj Manager refused to accept any proposal which involved the grant of rights superior to occupancy rights to the simandars.

The Manager contended that the ghat chaukidars of Birbhum were on a different footing from all other serviceholders in that they had under Regulation XXIX of 1814 a statutory hereditary right to the land. Besides this,

they rendered no service to the zamindar and their lands were separate from the *mal* lands. The Manager further observed that on resumption of the simandari lands the zamindar would lose the services of men who watched over the cultivated parts of the villages, who guarded the village boundaries, and helped in the collection and conveyance of the rent to the Sadar office. It would, therefore, be necessary for the zamindar to appoint a staff for the performance of these duties if the simandars were abolished. The Manager adhered to his contention that the simandars differed in no way from the village watchmen or chaukidars and stated that the zamindar was by no means anxious for resumption. Finally he proposed either that the resumption proceedings should be abandoned or that the lands should be resumed under Act VI of 1870.

An amount of discussion followed and eventually Raja Ban Behari stated that the utmost the Raj was willing to grant was that the lands should be resumed on the terms of a full assessment to rent, the simandars being given the status of occupancy raiyats. In January 1905 the simandars accepted these terms and in July of the same year Government sanctioned the resumption on the following terms.—

- (1) That the lands should be assessed at full rates, and the simandars given possession without *salami* and with the rights of occupancy raiyats.
- (2) That the rent assessed on the simandari lands should be payable to the zamindar, and that one-half the amount of rent payable should be the revenue due to Government from the zamindar.

Babu Tirtha Nath Saha, who was acting Assistant Settlement Officer in Birbhum, was appointed Kanungo for the purpose of the proceedings and started the measurement in January 1906. At the request of the Raj the land of each simandar was constituted a separate estate and centred separately on the tauzi roll. The result is a number of separate estates of very small area and paying a very small revenue which could have been more conveniently replaced by a single estate.

During the following years, 1907, 1908 and 1909 *patta* and *kabuliyat* were executed, which were to take effect from the beginning of the agricultural year following the execution. The work was concluded in the year 1909.

In all 355 new estates were created, covering a total area of 1334·23 acres, and assessed to a yearly revenue of Rs. 2,077·15. The work presented little difficulty and objections were not in general raised to the resumption.

In two cases, however, simandari lands were contained in villages held jointly under two proprietors. These two villages which lie in Indas thana are Baikunthapur and Charigram. The former belongs jointly to tauzi Nos. 1 and 333, the Maharaja of Burdwan and Babu Satya Kinkar Sahana being the proprietors. The latter is held jointly under the proprietors of tauzi Nos. 1 and 338, the Maharaja of Burdwan and Madhu Sudan Das Mahanta. In both cases it was proposed to settle the simandari lands jointly with the proprietors according to their shares in the village, and that one *patta* and one *kabuliyat* should be executed jointly in each case in the names of both proprietors. The proprietors, however, objected and prayed that separate *patta* and *kabuliyat* might be allowed to be executed. The prayer was refused by the Collector and his order was confirmed by the Board of Revenue. Thereupon the proprietors declined to take settlement of the simandari lands in these two villages, and in 1914 settlement was made direct with the simandars in possession. These estates which bear numbers 1724 and 1726 on the revenue roll of the district have since been treated as Government estates, and in accordance with the orders of Government, conveyed in their letter No. 369 T.R., dated the 26th May 1923, to the address of the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, will continue to be so treated in future.

43. Resumed chaukidari chakrar lands.—Another form of police service land found in the district is the chaukidari *chakrar* land. These lands are resumed under a special Act VI (B.C.) of 1870, and the amount at which they are assessed is payable to the Chaukidari Union Fund for the maintenance of the chaukidars. All such lands both in the Bankura and Burdwan districts have been resumed. The lands are included within the permanently-settled estate, but, on failure to pay the chaukidari

assessment, are sold up separately, so that the *chaukidari chakran* lands may, and sometimes do become the property of one who is not the proprietor of the main estate. In the record of rights, therefore, a separate *khatian* within the estate was opened for the proprietor's interest in the resumed *chaukidari chakran* land.

In the Asansol subdivision a curious circumstance came to light during the preparation of the record of rights in connection with these *chaukidari chakran* lands. They were originally resumed and assessed in 1897-99. At this time transfer deeds were given to the proprietors in which a description of the land was given by boundaries and area. Ten years later fresh proceedings were ordered, and the lands were again demarcated between the years 1907-09. The reason for these new proceedings appears to have been that the work on the former occasion was thought not to have been satisfactory. In point of fact this fresh demarcation showed that the area of the land resumed had been considerably under-calculated during the former proceedings. The procedure now adopted was to resume and transfer, not any particular lands, but the difference between the area calculated at the former proceedings and that now found, the boundaries given being the same in both cases. Such an action was clearly illegal, for the original proceedings were final and could not properly be reopened. A reference was made in the matter to the Board of Revenue through the Collector and Commissioner, and in accordance with the Board's orders the second proceedings were cancelled and the assessment remitted.

44. Resumption of sahar tainati *chaukidari chakran* lands.—In the days of their prosperity the Rajas of Bishnupur had appointed *chaukidars* for the watch and ward of their capital town. These *chaukidars* also were given lands in lieu of their service. In the year 1879 it was decided to resume these lands and on the 5th November the Collector, the Subdivisional Officer of Bishnupur and the Sub-Deputy Collector were appointed Commissioners under section 50, Act VI (B. C.) of 1870, to ascertain the limits of the town *chaukidari* lands. The lands were measured under the superintendence of the Sub-Deputy Collector, and, in determining what lands were actually *chaukidari*

chakran, the *thakbast* maps, the *issmnavisi* papers and actual possession, were all taken into consideration.

The total area of land measured as *chaukidari chakran* was 1,768 bighas, which were assessed at Rs. 2,130. The lands were settled with the proprietors of the estates in which they were contained, and the assessment was made payable to the Bishnupur Municipality.

45. Temporarily-settled and Government estates.—Both these classes of estates are small in area and of small importance in the district of Bankura.

The temporarily-settled estates consist of strips of land reclaimed from the beds of the rivers Damodar, Bodai and Darkeswar. On the first named river these areas are formed almost entirely of sand, on the Bodai and the Darkeswar the lands are of more value, but of these also many became covered with sand in the recent floods of the year 1922.

The Government estates in the district consist of a few small resumed *lakheraj* estates sold for arrears of revenue and bought in by Government and of a few isolated fields bordering the Raniganj-Midnapore road in which the cultivators have already acquired occupancy rights.

In spite of their unimportance from the point of view of size and value the *char* lands regained from the beds of the larger rivers of the district have been the subject of considerable interest to the Revenue Officers. All the rivers within the district are admittedly non-tidal and non-navigable. In spite of this four of them—the Bodai, Darkeswar, Sali and Gandeswari—were entered in the statement prepared along with the *thakbast* maps as belonging to Government (Sirkar Bahadur). On the strength of this entry the beds of the four rivers were recorded in two registers prepared in the Collectorate shortly after the completion of the *thakbast* survey, which registers purported to contain a complete list of Government property in the district. As a result of these entries all *chars* formed on these four rivers were taken possession of and settled as Government estates and entered as such in register 32.

The method of settlement of *chars* forming on the Damodar to whose bed Government could make no claim, has not been consistent. In some cases settlement has been offered in the first instance to the proprietor of the adjoining estate, but in no case has such proprietor accepted settlement, and in no

case has *malikana* been paid. All settlements have been made with outsiders, and in many cases the *char* has been settled by auction with the highest bidder without reference to the proprietor at all. In this district, therefore, for practical purposes newly settled *chars* have been treated as the property of Government.

The claim of Government to the property in the beds of the four rivers mentioned above did not pass unchallenged. Four title suits were filed against Government by the Maharaja of Burdwan. Two of these were tried together in what was popularly known as the Damodar *Char* case. One of these suits was concerned with the Damodar river and its *chars*, the other with the *chars* formed in the bed of the Darkeswar river within mauza Khatnagor. Of the other two suits, one relates to Char Behar on the Darkeswar river, the other to Char Bhatpara on the Bodai. In all these suits the Maharaja claimed that, as both banks of these rivers were included within his zamindari, he was entitled to the property in all *chars* forming in their beds, and that Government had no right to assess to revenue *chars* which formed on these rivers. The latter two suits were kept pending the final decision of the Damodar *Char* case, and the question of their compromise is now under discussion.

The Privy Council in their decision in appeals Nos. 187 and 188 in the Damodar *Char* case explained once for all the principles of law relating to *chars* forming in the beds of non-navigable rivers. Such *chars*, though the property in them may rest with the proprietor of the adjoining estate, are to be regarded as unsettled and therefore liable to settlement and assessment to land revenue.

Although the claim was clearly set forth in the written statements, the question of the right of Government to the property in the beds of the four rivers enumerated above on the strength of the entry in the *thak* statement was considered neither in the Privy Council nor the High Court judgments; the Sub-Judge who heard the case in the first instance regarding the claim as untenable. Indeed there does not appear to have been any legal justification for these entries in the *thak* statements, and it is unlikely that they were sanctioned by the order of any superior authority. After some correspondence, therefore, the

Board of Revenue decided that the claim of Government to the property in the beds of these rivers should be abandoned.

Besides these *chars* possession had been taken on behalf of Government of a number of fisheries in the Damodar and other rivers. These fisheries were treated as Government estates and settled with outsiders. It was decided that this action was of doubtful legality, and the claim of Government to the right to settle these fisheries was abandoned.

In the new settlements all *chars* have been treated as temporarily-settled estates, settlement has been offered to the proprietors of the adjoining estates, and they have been held entitled to *malikana* in the event of refusal to take settlement.

The abandonment of the claim of Government to the property in the beds of the rivers previously enumerated necessitated the partition of one Government estate, bearing No. 455 on the revenue roll. This estate was originally made up of five small estates, of which the first four were resumed *lakheraj* estates. These estates had fallen into arrears of Government revenue and had been put up to auction and bought in on behalf of Government at various times between the years 1886 and 1905. The fifth estate was a *char*, known as the Abantica *Char*, which had formed in the bed of the Darkeswar river in the year 1901. The *char* was taken possession of by the Collector on behalf of Government. The Collector offered settlement of the *char* to the Maharaja of Burdwan. The latter refused to take settlement, and called on the Collector to relinquish the *char* on the ground that the property in the *char* belonged to him as being situated within his zamindari. The Collector, however, claimed the *char* on the strength of the entry in the *thakbast* map which assigned the bed of the river to Government. Further, apparently confusing the law relating to the right of Government to property in the land and the right of Government to assess the land to revenue, the Collector stated that the Maharaja was, in his opinion, entitled to receive *malikana*. The Maharaja, accepted the offer of *malikana*, which, however, appears never to have been paid. In the year 1908 the Commissioner raised the question whether these five small estates, which lay close together, could not conveniently be grouped together to form one Government estate. The Board of Revenue accepted

the Commissioner's proposal, and the five estates were accordingly grouped together from the year 1910-11 and formed one estate. With the abandonment of the claim of Government to the right to the property in the beds of the four rivers, the claim to consider Abantica Char as a Government estate had also to be abandoned. Accordingly, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, the *char* was separated from the other estates which together made up estate No. 455, and was formed into a separate temporarily-settled estate under its original number, 1126.

Owing to the recent decision of Government that roadside lands of provincial roads should ordinarily be left fallow and not leased out to cultivators, leases of the roadside lands bordering the Raniganj-Midnapore road have not been renewed, and, where possible, the estates have been removed from the revenue-roll of the district and have been merged in the road itself. In a few cases, however, it was found that the cultivators of roadside lands had acquired rights of occupancy. These cultivators it was not possible to eject, so that a few isolated plots bordering the road are still retained as Government estates.

CHAPTER VI.

Land Tenure.

46. Bankura is the poorest and most backward district in the whole province. As has been seen in Chapter II a large proportion of its inhabitants belong to aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribes. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that its system of land tenure is simple, simpler perhaps than that in any other district in the province.

Previous to the Permanent Settlement information about the district is scanty. Bishnupur and Birbhum were the two frontier kingdoms. The country was wild and jungly and far from the seat of Government. The border chiefs, therefore, and the Rajas of Bishnupur were left much to their own devices. Even the Moghul Emperors claimed only a vague suzerainty over the country, and the payment of the tribute which they fixed depended much on the inclination of the Raja himself.

The area which constitutes the present district falls naturally and historically into two divisions. The Jungle Mahals

on the west and the ancient pargana of Bishnupur in the centre and east of the district.

47. **The Jungle Mahals.**—The Jungle Mahals comprise parganas Chhatna, Supur, Ambikanagar, Raipur, Phulkusma, Shyamsundarpur, Bhelaiddiha and Simlapal. Even at the time of the Permanent Settlement the Mahals, with the exception perhaps of Chhatna and Raipur, where the cultivated area was considerable, were almost covered with jungle. The people consisted of aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes, who were ruled over by their border chiefs, and the jungles were the strongholds of dacoits and robbers. Such being the condition of the country and of the people the system of land tenure was primitive, and under the local chiefs or Rajas existed what is known as the Mandali system of tenure.

48. **The mandali system.**—Whoever may have been the original inhabitants of these jungle tracts, in historical times we find the whole area in the possession of Santals and kindred aboriginal and semi-aboriginal races. It was they who cleared the jungle, and with great labour terraced the land to make it fit for the cultivation of paddy.

Before the Permanent Settlement and before the introduction of the *dikku* or foreigner (Bengali) the Santali organisation afforded a very complete picture of the village community. At the head stood the headman, the mandal, manjhi or pradhan as he was called, and through his hands all the business of the community had to pass. When a Santal community settled on the land, all negotiations were between the proprietor and the mandal, and the latter alone was responsible for the rent.

In the Jungle Mahals usually a tract of jungle within very vaguely defined boundaries would be settled with such a community for clearance and cultivation. The mandal then distributed the land among his co-villagers, making them responsible for the rent according to the area settled. The whole area was ordinarily divided into 12 or 16 *rekhs*. *rekha* denotes a straight line, and probably originally indicated the amount of land which one plough could plough in a day. A certain proportion of the land, one or more *rekhs*, was retained by the headman for himself and the other village officials as their *khem* or *man* land which they held free of rent in virtue of their official position.

In origin then the mandal, though responsible for the joint rent of the village, was a co-raiyat with the villagers and in no sense occupied the position of a tenure-holder over them.

49. The break up of the mandali system.—The introduction of the *dikku* or foreigner into the Jungle Mahals was the cause of the gradual decay of the mandali system. These foreigners, Bengalis from the east and Utkal Brahmins from Orissa in the west, came in first as traders. Soon they took to the more profitable employment of money-lending, and thus got a hold on the land. The ease with which money could be made at the expense of the simple people induced more and more foreigners to settle, and the result has been the rapid decline in prosperity of the aboriginal tribes.

There are two causes for the decay of the mandali system, one of which is external and the other internal.

The improvidence of the local Rajas was as great as that of their tenants, and when the Bengalis had secured a footing in the country they easily got both Raja and tenant into their clutches. Thus we find that the Rajas brought in Bengali middlemen between them and their tenants and gave them permanent *mokarari* lease of the villages.

Again the mandals were forced to sell to Bengali mahajans who stepped into their places.

In both cases the result was the break up of the mandali system. In the first case the middleman gradually broke the power of the mandal, collected rents directly from individual tenants and enhanced their rents. The original mandal he either dispossessed of his *khem* lands altogether or assessed them to rent at the ordinary rates. In the second case the mahajan, who had stepped into the shoes of the mandal, arrogated to himself the position of a tenure-holder, and enhanced the rents of the tenants, which he collected for his own benefit.

The process appears to have been fairly rapid, with the result that at the present day the Bengali mahajan is to be found as the middleman in possession of a complete village or group of villages holding under a permanent *mokarari* lease. Hardly a single Santal or aboriginal is to be found holding a similar position in the area.

50. The proprietors in the Jungle Mahals.—Previous to the Permanent Settlement the Jungle Mahals were held by border chiefs, who were often the leaders of the dacoits and robbers who had their strongholds in the jungles. These chiefs were semi-independent, and it was not until after the Permanent Settlement that they were finally subdued.

At the time of the Permanent Settlement each pargana in the Jungle Mahals was formed into a separate estate, and, with the single exception of Supur, which was formed into nine separate estates in the year 1878, have so remained until the present day. This permanence, which is perhaps almost unprecedented in Bengal, is due to two causes. In the first place according to the provisions of Regulation X of 1800, which was enacted solely for the Jungle Mahals, the estates remained impartible and descended by right of primogeniture from father to eldest son. In the second place special protection was afforded to the proprietors by the provisions of Regulation XII of 1833, by which the Jungle Mahals were formed into the South-West Frontier Agency. Under this Regulation the operation of the ordinary revenue regulations was suspended in this territory, and it was not until the year 1879 that the Jungle Mahals were finally included in Bankura, a Regulation district.

In the whole of this area there is not a single revenue-free estate, so that these parganas have not only remained unchanged since the Permanent Settlement but they have remained the only estates in the area with the single exception of the resumed ghatwali estates which were created between 1901 and 1909. A description of the ghatwali tenures and their resumption will be found in Chapter IV of the Report.

In the Jungle Mahals then, as befits a jungle area inhabited mainly by aboriginals, the system of land tenure is extremely simple. A single proprietor holds the lands of his estate in one compact block and has under him tenure-holders each holding one or more complete villages. In some cases these tenure-holders have under-tenure-holders between them and the tenants, but it is more common to find the tenure-holders under the proprietors collecting their rents direct.

51. Tenures in the Jungle Mahals: panchaki tenures.—Apart from these large tenures which usually comprise a

whole village or a group of villages, the most important class of tenure in the area is that known as *panchaki*. *Panchaki* denotes "held at a quit rent", and the rents paid for these grants are purely nominal.

Usually these grants were made from pious motives, and are *brahmottar* or *mahatran* grants, but in a few cases they were given as rewards for faithful service. In this wild country of aboriginal tribes it may well be imagined that some inducement was necessary to cause Brahmans to settle. As the local Rajas became more civilized and enlightened the need of the presence of Brahmans became acute, partly to act as priests for religious purposes and partly to support the claim of the Rajas to Kshatriya descent. Such was the origin of these grants.

Two theories are advanced to account for the payment of a quit rent. On the one hand it is held that the Brahmans considered it inconsistent with their dignity to accept grants of land free of rent from non-Brahmans, and insisted on the payment of a nominal rent. A more likely theory is that the proprietors made it a condition of the grant that the Brahmans should pay their dues in person, and thus secured their occasional presence. To travel in this area was a dangerous business, and as the proprietors' houses were usually situated in the depths of the jungle, it would have been difficult to induce the Brahmans to visit them had the grants been given free of rent.

The problem which arose in connection with these tenures was whether the rent at which they were held was fixed in perpetuity or not. The claim to fixity of rent advanced by the holders was usually contested by the landlords. In almost all cases it was found that *sanads* had been given to the recipients of these tenures, and that *chhars* (confirmatory *sanads*) had subsequently been given by the succeeding zamindars. The wording of these *sanads* and *chhars* was usually as follows:—

“নির্দিষ্ট পঞ্চক আদায় পূর্বক পুত্র পৌত্রাদিক্রমে পরম মুখে হক্ হক্ দরবস্ত মোজা অথবা মাপ ভোগ দখল করিতে থাকহ”

which indicates permanent possession from generation to generation with the greatest possible ease and comfort to the grantees and without any reservation in favour of the grantors. From the local

evidence taken it was found that the rents of these tenures were regarded as fixed both by tradition and in the ordinary course of dealing. They were accordingly entered as *mokarari* in all cases in the record of rights.

These tenures are also very frequently found in the Asansol subdivision under the designation *panchaki*, *khera*, *moghali* or *talabi brahmottar*.

52. Khorposh or babuan grants.—It has been noted above that under the provisions of Regulation VIII of 1800 the law of primogeniture regulates the succession to the estates of the proprietors in the Jungle Mahal area. In these mahals the second son of the proprietor is known as *hikim*, the third son as *bara thakur*, while the younger sons are called by the general designation of *babu*. As the eldest son succeeds to the estate, it is usual to provide the younger sons with grants of land. These are known as *khorphosh* or *babuan* grants.

In their origin these grants were probably non-transferable and resumable in default of legitimate male heirs of the original grantee. By custom of dealing, however, the grants have become unconditional, and are now freely transferred and are unresumable. All such grants are held free of rent.

In the Khatra zamindari the custom prevails according to which lands are set aside for the *hikim*, the second son. When his elder brother dies he has to vacate the lands in favour of the succeeding *hikim*. These *hikimi* lands are, therefore, non-transferable. The other sons receive smaller *babuan* grants which are by custom heritable and transferable.

The same custom of giving *khorphosh* grants to the younger sons of the proprietor is to be found also in the Saharjora mahal in the Bishnupur pargana. Here too the grants were held to be heritable and transferable.

53. Patni tenures.—Outside the jungle area the system of land tenure presents no very special features.

Before the Permanent Settlement the whole country belonged to two great zamindaries. In the north the area which now occupies thanas Saltora and Mejhia formed part of the great Pachete Raj, and to this zamindari it still belongs.

The centre and east of the district was included in the Bishnupur pargana. The pargana was divided up shortly after the Permanent Settlement into ten

separate estates, of which the four most important fell into the hands of the Maharaja of Burdwan. This break up of the Bishnupur pargana led to an amount of subinfeudation hitherto unknown in the district. The Maharaja of Burdwan, as was the case with his other properties, introduced the system of *patni* tenure. The *patnidars* were often absentees, who sub-let to *darpatnidars*, and these again sub-let.

The *patni* system is also to be found under the Pachete Raj in the Mohisara pargana in Saltora and Mejhia.

It may be noted that the rents payable by the *patnidars* are very high in proportion to their collections from tenants; the *patnidars* themselves are often absentees and do not get the most out of their properties. The result is that the *patnis* are continually changing hands. Out of 288 *patnis* held under the Maharaja of Burdwan, no less than 54 have been sold up during the last ten years.

54. **Shikimi tenures.**—*Shikimi tenures* are tenures of a peculiar nature, created by Government at the time of the resumption and settlement of invalid *lakheraj*es. In the course of the measurement and assessment of the tenants' holdings, preliminary to settlement of the invalid *lakheraj* estates by Government, in many cases small grants claimed to be held free of rent were found. Enquiries were made regarding these grants and, when it was found that the possessors had long held under an invalid grant without payment of rent, the grants were separately measured and assessed and the owners were called upon to enter into a settlement on the same principle as was observed in the settlement of the entire *lakheraj* estate—half the assets being allowed to them as profits, and half taken as revenue due to Government. For the sake of convenience the proprietor of the entire estate was at the time of settlement entrusted with the collection of the revenue due from his *shikimidars* and was allowed 10 per cent. as cost of collection, i.e., 10 per cent. of one-half of the assets.

Shikimi tenures are permanent, transferable and held at a rent fixed in perpetuity.

55. **Raiyati holdings.**—*Raiyati* interests are subdivided into the usual classes—

- (1) *mokarari*, those holding at fixed rents or rates of rent,

- (2) settled and occupancy *raiya*ts, and
- (3) non-occupancy *raiya*ts.

The two latter classes are again subdivided according as they pay their rent in cash or in produce.

56. **Langalchas tenancies.**—In the highlands of Simlapal and Raipur thanas, a system of tenancy occurs which has some of the characteristics of *utbandi*. According to this system the tenant pays rent only for so much land as he actually cultivates in any particular year. These tenants are all Santals.

Again, in the south-east of Taldangra thana a somewhat similar form of tenancy is prevalent among the Santals. Here the amount of rent varies according to the number of ploughs which the tenant possesses. On payment of this rent he is entitled to cultivate as much land as he pleases. The rent usually varies from annas eight to rupee one per plough.

The land held under this form of tenancy is of course poor and crops such as *kudu* and *gunja* are grown. There is a regular rotation of crops. In the first year *gunja* is grown, in the second year *kudu*, after which the Santal takes up the adjoining land for cultivation leaving the land previously cultivated fallow for three or four years, then cultivating it again in rotation.

This form of tenancy is known as *langalchas*.

Again in mauza Paharpur in thana Barjora a system of tenancy resembling *utbandi* was observed. This is a *bit* area and the land actually under *boro* paddy is annually measured before the *boro* paddy is cut and the rent is fixed accordingly.

57. **Jalsasan tenancies.**—The form of tenancy known as *jalsasan* is especially suitable to a district like Bankura, which, except in the very lowest lands, is dependent on artificial irrigation to preserve it from periodic failure of crops. The conditions of the tenancy are intended to promote the permanent improvement of the land for agricultural purposes and in particular to encourage the reclamation of waste lands. *Jalsasan* tenancies are mainly to be found in the higher lands of northern and central Bankura, in thanas Indpur, Saltora, Mejhia, Gangajalghati and Barjora.

These tenancies are usually created by registered *sanad*, whereby settlement is made of waste and jungle lands within

specified boundaries. The *sanad* stipulates that the settlement-holder shall bring the land under cultivation by excavating tanks at his own expense.

There are four main classes of *jalsasan* tenancy—

- (1) The simplest form consists in the grant of a certain area of land free of rent on condition that the grantee excavate a tank at his own expense for the purpose of irrigating this and neighbouring lands. This form of tenancy is found in all the abovementioned thanas.
- (2) A second variation is where permission is given to the grantee to bring under cultivation, by means of excavating a tank, waste lands in a certain area. No rent is charged for the first three years. In the fourth year, the area reclaimed by his efforts is measured and assessed to rent according to the local rates for similar lands. The grantee is, however, allowed a remission, which varies from annas two to annas four in the rupee, off the rent thus calculated, in consideration of having made arrangements to irrigate the land at his own expense.
- (3) A third form of grant occurs where the land to be irrigated from the tank which the grantee excavates as a condition of the grant, is larger than he can reasonably take up for cultivation himself. After the grantee has taken up what land he requires for cultivation, the remainder is settled with third persons who are entitled to irrigate their lands from the water of the tank excavated by the *jalsasan* tenant. The area thus settled with third persons is taken into account when considering the remission of rent to be granted to the *jalsasan* tenant. For example, suppose the remission off the rent on account of *jalsasan* to be annas four in the rupee. The area of waste land available for cultivation is 100 bighas, and the local rate is Rs. 2 per bigha. The *jalsasan* tenant brings under cultivation 30 bighas, and the remaining 70 bighas are settled with outsiders. The rent of the *jalsasan* tenant

will be Rs. 35 only (Rs. 60—Rs. 7-8—Rs. 17-8). These two varieties of the tenancy are found mainly in thanas Barjora and Gangajalghati.

- (4) A fourth variety of this tenancy is similar to the above. The area of waste land to be brought under cultivation is large. A portion of this area is granted to the *jalsasan* tenant for his own cultivation, and the remainder is settled with outsiders, the former making arrangements for the irrigation of the whole area. On this consideration he is given a remission, varying from annas two to annas four in the rupee, off the rent which he himself would otherwise be liable to pay, while he is given the right to collect annas two to annas four of the rents assessed on the outsiders. This variety of the tenancy is found in thanas Indpur, Gangajalghati and Barjora.

In all cases the land which forms the site of the tank itself and of its banks is held free of rent.

A similar remission of rent is granted in some cases where land abandoned as unprofitable by one tenant, is settled with another. The land is settled with the latter for a specified period at the rate paid by the former tenant. At the end of this period the land is assessed at the customary rate, but the tenant, in consideration of the improvement which he has effected in the land, is entitled to a remission which is equal to four annas of the difference between the old and the new rent. For example, the former rent of the tenancy was Rs. 45. After three years it is found that the rental value of the land, owing to improvements made by the new tenant, is Rs. 90. He is entitled to settlement at a rental of Rs. 79-12 [Rs. 90—1-4 (90—45)].

58. **Under-raiyats.**—The subtle distinctions of the Bengal Tenancy Act are little understood in the district. As both landlords and tenants understand the matter, tenants are divided into those who have permanent rights and those who are tenants at will. Ordinarily a tenant who pays cash or fixed produce rent is regarded as having permanent rights in the land, while the tenant who pays a share of the produce as rent is regarded as a tenant at will.

The number of under-raiyats is not very large and is not greatly increasing. Many of the under-raiyats, particularly those who were the original clearers of the jungles, have been settled on the land for generations. Such under-raiyats have, according to local custom, undoubtedly permanent rights in the land. So little indeed is the distinction between raiyat and under-raiyat understood that frequently leases known as *darmokarari* leases have been granted to under-raiyats, according to which their rights in the land are permanent and transferable and their rents are fixed in perpetuity.

The question of under-raiyati rights was carefully enquired into at attestation; and, where it appeared that they had permanent rights according to local custom, proceedings were drawn up and evidence was taken. A note was then made in the "Incidents" column of the record to the effect that the under-raiyat had by local custom occupancy rights. Such entries were numerous.

59. **Rent-free tenures.**—Ever since the days of Bir Hambir, who embraced the Baishnab religion in the sixteenth century, the Rajas of Bishnupur had been noted for their piety and for their gifts of land to Brahmans and to idols. The most generous of all perhaps was Chaitanya Singh, the last of his line to hold sway in Bishnupur. In his day there was a popular saying that in the Raj there was no Brahman who did not hold a rent-free grant. As may well be imagined, the number of rent-free grants in the pargana of Bishnupur and especially in the neighbourhood of Bishnupur town is enormous. Rent-free grants are also numerous in the Chhatna zamindari, whose Rajas also had a great reputation for piety.

These grants fall under the usual classifications: (1) *debottar*, lands dedicated for the worship of a deity, (2) *brahmottar*, grants to Brahmans, (3) *baishnabottar*, grants to Baishnabs, (4) *pirottar*, lands dedicated for the upkeep of a mosque.

They are mostly quite small in area. Some are supported by old *sanads* or *chhars*, but in many cases no documents were forthcoming. Numerous claims to hold land free of rent were contested by the landlords, but in the majority of cases the grantee was able to substantiate his claim by local evidence and the proof that the land had been held for many years without payment of rent.

60. **Service grants.**—Before the break up of the Bishnupur Raj the amount of land held rent-free as service grants was enormous. At the time of the Decennial Settlement about 150,000 bighas of highly cultivated land were appropriated to the maintenance of various descriptions of public and private servants. Of this 21,763 bighas had been resumed by Mr. Hesilrige in 1789 and a portion was resumed later by the sezawal Jiban Lal under the orders of Mr. Keating. The remainder was resumed after the Permanent Settlement, when the lands of the Raj fell into other hands. These service lands were known as *arazi mahals* and were scattered over numerous villages throughout the pargana.

Below is given a list of these service lands which were held free of rent or at a small quit rent:—

- (1) *Mahal bera*—Consisted of 41,723 bighas of land appropriated to the maintenance of guards stationed at the immediate residence of the Raja or of the various branches of the family.
- (2) *Senapati mahals*—Consisting of two villages and 14,118 bighas land appropriated for the maintenance of head guards and police establishment. Each guard was given 28 bighas for which he paid a *panchak* of Rs. 4.
- (3) *Shagisdapasha mahal*—Consisting of 13,079 bighas of land appropriated for the maintenance of the household servants of the Raja.
- (4) *Bakshi Mahal*—56,817 bighas of land appropriated for the maintenance of ghatwals, paiks, dighars, etc.
- (5) *Chharidari mahal*—3,122 bighas of land appropriated for the maintenance of the Raja's main bearers and peons, for which they paid a trifling *panchak*.
- (6) *Sicenerah mahal*—512 bighas of land allotted for the support of the *burkundazes*, who paid a small rent.
- (7) *Kakaran mahal*—1,244 bighas of land granted to the *palki*-bearers of the Raja.
- (8) *Khatali mahal*—1,012 bighas of land granted to the coolies, and

labourers who worked in the fort on payment of a small *panchak*.

- (9) *Betalabi mahal*—Lands granted by the Raja for charitable and religious purposes.

The service tenancies which still exist are those which are found throughout Bengal. Small grants of land free of rent to the barber, the washerman and other persons in lieu of the service which they render to the zamindar or the community.

An interesting relic of more ancient times is the institution known as *bhet begar*. This is the liability to render so many days' labour to the landlord in return for a grant of land. This system of tenancy is common among the aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribes in the west and south of the district, but it is also found in central Bankura and as far east as Bishnupur thana. It is usually homestead land which forms the subject of such grants. This tenancy is clearly the same as the *bhet begar* so common in Chota Nagpur, and which formed the subject of special legislation in the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act. Under the provisions of this Act it was the duty of the Settlement Officer of his own motion to commute to a money rent the service due under the conditions of the tenancy. In the record of rights of the Bankura district these tenancies have been recorded as service tenancies. Such an entry undoubtedly constitutes a hardship for the *begari* tenant, but it does not appear possible in the present state of the law of this Province to record the tenancies in any other way.

61. Produce rent tenancies.—Tenancies paying produce rent fall naturally into two classes:—

- (1) when the rent consists of a fixed amount of produce. In this district a certain number of maunds of paddy is fixed as the rent in such cases. These tenancies are known as *sanja*.
- (2) when the rent consists of a portion of the produce. In such tenancies, known in the district as *bhag* tenancies, the rent is usually fixed at one-half the produce.

In some cases the stipulation is that the landlord takes two-thirds of the produce, the cultivator taking only one-third

as the reward of his labour. In such cases the landlord usually provides plough, cattle and seeds, and the cultivator is regarded as a labourer and not a tenant, and is locally known as *krishan*. These *krishans* have not been entered in the record of rights as tenants.

Mixed cash and produce rents are found chiefly in the west and centre of the district where the aboriginal element is strong. They are usually the result of a cash rent tenancy being bought in by the landlord for arrears of rent and resettled with the same tenant with an additional produce rent. Such rents are fortunately not very numerous.

62. Miscellaneous forms of rent.—Bankura is the most backward district in the Province. In the west, at any rate, money is seldom handled. Articles are bought and sold by a system of barter, and payments are usually made in kind. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Bankura curious forms of rent are to be found, such as occur nowhere else in the Province with the possible exception of Midnapore.

Numerous cases are found, especially in the western thanas, where the rent consists of a *dingle* or two, a broomstick, some plantains, a few chattacks of *ghi*, one or two cartloads of manure, a goat, a gourd or some molasses. In rarer cases a piece of cloth has been fixed as the rent, and, curiously enough, while the length of the cloth was specified in the original contract, no mention appears to have been made of the breadth; the consequence being that the piece of cloth given as rent tends to become narrower and narrower and is in danger of vanishing altogether.

Such rents are paid almost without exception for homestead lands of non-agriculturists and for the highlands adjoining the homestead. It is probable that these lands were originally granted without any rent demand and that the various commodities above enumerated were in the nature of presents to the local Raja, and came in time to be regarded as rent.

In some cases fruit, vegetables, *ghi*, etc., are exacted by the landlords in addition to cash rent, but such exactions were held in almost all cases to be *abwabs* and did not find a place in the record of rights.

In a jungle village in thana Rani-bandh a peculiar system of rent payment

was observed for lands on which sugarcane was cultivated. The tenant pays his rent annually, but grows sugarcane on the land only in alternate years. Every other year the landlord takes possession and grows *rabi* crops on the land, but the tenant pays the rent for these years also.

63. **Mushama jamas.**—In lot Sarali in thana Barjora in addition to the ordinary rent a special impost, known as *mushama jama*, is levied, for which a separate rent receipt is granted. The *jama* is said to have been imposed for the maintenance of a military force to repel the incursions of the Mahrattas.

64. **Nishpi or ekdafa jamas.**—In central Bankura tenancies are found similar to *punchaki* tenancies. They are permanent, transferable and held at a

fixed rent which is lower than the customary rents for similar lands. These are known as *ekdafa jamas*. Originally the tenancies were claimed to be held free of rent, but the claim was found to be without valid title; but the tenant was allowed to remain on the land at a rent assessed at half the ordinary rates.

65. **Analysis of estates.**—During the operations all the estate bundles in the Collectorate were examined and a digest of their contents made estate by estate. The papers contained in these bundles yield little information of value; most of them are mutation or land acquisition papers and, in the case of resumed *lakheraj* estates, *rubakaris* of resumption cases.

The following is a classification of the active estates at present on the revenue roll of the district:—

Classification of Estate.	Number.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
		Acres.	Rs. A. P.	
1. Permanently-settled estates—				
Zamindari	26	1,167.208.1	3,87,206 3 10	Ten formed out of the Bishuapur pargana, and 16 transferred from the Manbhumi district. 1 in 1872 and 15 in 1879.
Invalid <i>lakheraj</i> properties resumed and <i>daimi</i> settled ..	727	142,003.5	55,408 6 1	
Ghatwali lands resumed and <i>daimi</i> settled	217	123,520.8	37,322 5 2	
Simindari lands resumed and <i>daimi</i> settled	355	1,334.23	2,077 15 0	
Resumed <i>lakheraj</i> estates bought in by Government at sale for arrears of revenue and <i>daimi</i> settled. ..	12	1,293.4	268 10 10	
Invalid <i>ayama</i> grants resumed and <i>daimi</i> settled	98	1,058.2	836 10 11	
Palkan lands resumed and <i>daimi</i> settled	7	45.5	88 15 0	
<i>Daimi</i> settled estates	5	25.7	107 11 0	Three formed of old provincial roads, 1 site of an old outpost, and 1 <i>phanridari</i> resumed land of which the proprietor, the Maharaja of Burdwan refused settlement.
Resumed <i>nishandi</i> lands	1	4.5	8 6 0	
2. Temporarily-settled estates—				
(a) Settled with proprietors	3	1,079.2	727 14 4	
(b) Let out to farmers	34	6,218.6	2,233 4 5	
3. Government estates managed khas	37	1,301.7	1,775 11 5	

In addition to these a few estates are kept without demand. These consist of *char* lands not yet sufficiently cultivable to be capable of assessment. On the revenue roll are also a number of fishery estates. No mention has been made of these latter as falling outside the scope of this report.

Of the estates classified 26 are formed of lands assessed to revenue at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and the remainder consist of resumed revenue free grants, resumed ghatwali and resumed simindari lands. The estates formed since the Permanent Settlement comprise, as a rule, small areas, and pay a

comparatively small revenue as the tables below, which have been prepared for all the permanently-settled estates in the district will show:—

Number of estates assessed to a revenue—

of less than Re. 1	36
of between Re. 1 and Rs. 10	564
of between Rs. 10 and 100	589
of between Rs. 100 and 1,000	240
of between Rs. 1,000 and 10,000	16
of between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 50,000	2
exceeding Rs. 1,00,000	1

Number of estates comprising an area—

of less than one acre	32
of between 1 and 100 acres	996
of between 100 and 500 acres	287
of between 500 and 1,000 acres	54
of between 1,000 and 5,000 acres	54
of between 5,000 and 10,000 acres	6
of between 10,000 and 50,000 acres	11
of between 50,000 and 1,00,000 acres	3
exceeding 1,00,000 acres	4

66. Statistics of tenancies and rent.—Thanawar statistics of the occupation of the land as well by proprietors as by the various classes of tenants are given in Appendix IX to this report.

Detailed figures showing statistics village by village and estate by estate have been collected in bound volumes and made over to the Collector for preservation in the Record Room. The figures in these registers giving the number of proprietors, tenure-holders, etc., refer to the number of "interests" appearing in the record of rights, *i.e.*, to the number of *khatians* actually opened in respect of each class, and not to the number of individuals who compose each class.

The table below gives at a glance comparative statistics of the occupation of the land in the Bankura, Midnapore and Tippera districts.

Midnapore and Tippera have been chosen as the representative district of Western and Eastern Bengal, respectively:—

Land in direct possession of proprietors—122,871 acres or 7·3 per cent. of the total area of the district—

In Midnapore	10·52 per cent.
In Tippera	3·8 per cent.

Land in direct possession of tenure-holders—715,820 acres or 42·2 per cent. of the total area of the district—

In Midnapore	19·98 per cent.
In Tippera	9·7 per cent.

Land in direct possession of raiyats—786,314 acres or 46·5 per cent. of the total area of the district—

In Midnapore	66·08 per cent.
In Tippera	84·6 per cent.

Land in direct possession of under-raiyats—66,519 acres or 4 per cent. of the total area of the district—

In Midnapore	3·42 per cent.
In Tippera	2·8 per cent.

In the statistics of this district land in the direct possession of proprietors and permanent tenure-holders has been subdivided into three classes, *viz.*, (a) waste and jungle land, (b) land fit for cultivation, (c) public lands, *a.g.*, roads, rivers, ditches, etc., incapable of individual occupation. It is hoped that this subdivision will prove of use in elucidating the statistics, seeing that the area under waste and jungle in the district is large. In Appendix X to the report a statement has been prepared showing thana by thana the area covered by jungle.

67. Land in the direct possession of proprietors.—Proprietors private or *khamar* land, as referred to in section 116 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, does not exist in this district.

From the statistics given in Appendix IX it will be seen that the area in possession of proprietors is considerably larger in Midnapore and Bankura than in Tippera. This is due to the large area under jungle in the western Bengal districts.

Of the total area in possession of proprietors no less than 79,607 acres or 65 per cent. consists of jungle or waste, while only 30,755 acres or 25 per cent. is fit for cultivation. Common lands, roads, khals and the like, account for the remaining 10 per cent. Of land fit for cultivation in possession of proprietors, a proportionately larger area lies in the Bishnupur subdivision, a fact which is due to the number of very small estates which are to be found in this subdivision, many of the proprietors being themselves the actual cultivators of the soil. In the west of the district, on the other hand, the estates are all large.

68. Land in the direct possession of tenure-holders.—(a) *Rent-free tenure-holders.*—The total number of rent-free interests in the district is 86,382 covering an area of 78,963 acres. On the average, therefore, each interest comprises a little less than one acre of land. These interests are in origin mainly grants to Brahmans of very petty areas, and the land is usually cultivated by the Brahmans themselves by means of hired servants or sometimes let out to tenants on a rent of half the produce of the land. In the majority of cases each interest represents a separate individual rent-free holder.

A glance at the figures in Appendix IX will show that the number of rent-free tenures is small in the west of the

district, that the numbers increase considerably in the centre, and rise to the very large figure of 51,993 in the Bishnupur subdivision. Gifts of land to Brahmans were not made lavishly by the chieftains of the Jungle Mahals, but the generosity of the Rajas of Bishnupur was proverbial. Indeed the predominance of Brahmans in the population of central and eastern Bankura as a result of this generosity has been noticed in a previous chapter.

It may here be remarked that most of these rent-free grants are not really tenures at all as defined in the Bengal Tenancy Act, seeing that it was the intention of the donors that the Brahmans should cultivate the lands themselves through their servants, and that in the majority of cases effect has been given to this intention. The rent-free grants have been entered as tenures in the record of rights for the sake of convenience.

(b) *Permanent tenure-holders at fixed rents or rates of rent.*—A striking feature in the figures given in the table above is the extraordinary divergence in the proportionate areas held by tenure-holders in the three districts. It will be seen that the percentage of area held by the tenure-holders in Midnapore is more than double that in Tippera while again in Bankura it is more than double that in Midnapore. This divergence is due to three causes.

In the first place both in Midnapore and Bankura a large portion of the district consist of waste and jungle lands, whilst in Tippera almost every acre is cultivated.

Secondly the number of grants to Brahmans either rent-free or at a quit rent (*panchak*) is very large both in Midnapore and in Bankura and especially in Bankura. It has been explained how the rent-free grants to Brahmans, though given for the purposes of cultivation, have been recorded as tenures; the same also is the case with grants of land on payment of a quit rent.

Thirdly, in the poorer districts of Western Bengal there is a tendency for much of the land to fall into the hands of the tenure-holders. In these districts the crop is uncertain and the people are poor and thriftless. The tenure-holders themselves are the principal money-lenders, and when a tenant has once borrowed money it is only a matter of time before his holding comes to sale. It is then

bought in by the tenure-holder, who perhaps retains the more valuable lands for himself settling the remaining less valuable lands with the tenant afresh. In a very poor district such as Bankura there is no lack of hired labourers. Indeed the Bauris as a class are usually landless men who work for others. The tenure-holders, therefore, if they retain lands in their own possession, find no difficulty in hiring labourers to cultivate them. An examination of the statistics will show that in the west of the district where the people are poor and aborigines predominate proportionately more land is in the possession of tenure-holders than in the east where the soil is more fertile and the people more prosperous.

The importance in the district of the permanent tenure-holders at fixed rents may be judged from the fact that they have in their direct possession lands comprising more than one quarter of the total area of the district. Indeed in the western thanas of Raipur, Simlapal, Ranibandh, Khatra, Chhatna and Indupore the land in the direct possession of these tenure-holders exceeds one-third of the total area.

(c) *Permanent tenure-holders not holding at fixed rents.*—These form the next most important class of tenure-holder, and they hold in their direct possession one-tenth of the total area of the district.

(d) *Other tenure-holders.*—Temporary tenure-holders are very few in number, but the number of tenure-holders paying produce rents or mixed cash and produce rents is considerable.

69. **Land occupied by raiyats.**—(a) *Raiyats at fixed rents.*—The very large majority of the raiyats recorded as holding at fixed rents have been so recorded under the statutory presumption of section 50 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. It is my opinion that in a district such as Bankura the effect of the provisions of this section is such as was never contemplated by the framers of the Act, and the result has been to record as *mokarari* raiyats a large number who had no real right to such a status.

In the first place the rates of rent in this district have remained unchanged since before the time of the Permanent Settlement. No attempt has been made by the landlords to enhance cash rents.

In the second place no systematic papers have been kept by any landlords until more recent times. If therefore

the presumption is able to be raised by the raiyat, there is no possibility that the landlord will be able to rebut it.

In the third place only those raiyats whose landlords had obeyed the provisions of the law and granted regular rent receipts were able to claim the presumption. In those cases in which the landlords through carelessness or policy had omitted to grant proper rent receipts, the raiyats were unable to raise the presumption; although it was clear, though not susceptible of proof, that the rent of the raiyats had remained unchanged from the time of the Permanent Settlement.

For the whole district the area recorded as in possession of raiyats holding at fixed rents is no less than 10 per cent. of the total area. Moreover, this area is by no means evenly distributed throughout the district.

In the six western Jungle Mahal thanas *mokrari* raiyats hold only 5·9 per cent. of the total area. In these thanas, previous to the settlement operations, rent receipts were seldom or never granted and it is probable that in this area the majority of raiyats recorded as *mokrari* are *mokrari* by contract on the strength of a registered document.

In the northern thanas of Saltora and Mejhia 6·9 per cent. of the area is held by *mokrari* raiyats. In the five central thanas Gangajalghati, Barjora, Tal-dangra, Onda and Bankura the percentage rises to 8·7 per cent., while in the Bishnupur subdivision it is no less than 18·9 per cent.

In the Bishnupur subdivision rent receipts are regularly granted and hence it is possible in a very large number of cases for the raiyats to show that they had held their lands at an unchanged rent for over 20 years. In this subdivision no less than 46,885 raiyats have been recorded as *mokrari*. (b) *Settled and occupancy raiyats*.—The tables below show the number of holdings in the possession of the various classes of settled and occupancy raiyats and the area held by each class.

CLASS.	Number of holdings.	Area in acres.
<i>Block A (western thanas)—</i>		
Holding on cash rents ..	60,944	158,246
Holding on fixed produce rents ..	8,310	18,722
Holding on a share of the produce.	8,208	11,724
Holding on mixed cash and produce rents.	4,291	26,692

CLASS.	Number of holdings.	Area in acres.
<i>Block B (northern thanas)—</i>		
Holding on cash rents ..	22,821	43,959
Holding on fixed produce rents ..	519	646
Holding on a share of the produce.	913	903
Holding on mixed cash and produce rents.	82	231
<i>Block C (central thanas)—</i>		
Holding on cash rents ..	67,540	129,622
Holding on fixed produce rents ..	18,399	26,771
Holding on a share of the produce.	7,659	8,032
Holding on mixed cash and produce rents.	5,405	20,475
<i>Block D (eastern thanas)—</i>		
Holding on cash rents ..	116,762	122,064
Holding on fixed produce rents ..	18,685	15,448
Holding on a share of the produce.	15,011	11,251
Holding on mixed cash and produce rents.	4,304	9,069
<i>For the whole district of Bankura—</i>		
Holding on cash rents ..	268,067	453,893
Holding on fixed produce rents ..	45,922	61,588
Holding on a share of the produce.	31,881	31,911
Holding on mixed cash and produce rents.	14,082	56,469
<i>For the district of Midnapore—</i>		
Holding on cash rent ..	224,324	1,240,782
Holding on fixed produce rent ..	45,839	57,662
Holding on a share of the produce.	102,547	84,159
Holding on mixed cash and produce rents.	17,015	50,387
<i>For the district of Tippera—</i>		
Holding on cash rents ..	535,840	1,090,727
Holding on fixed produce rent ..	1,198	1,215
Holding on a share of the produce.	2,505	1,986
Holding on mixed cash and produce rent.	..	..

(a) *Settled raiyats on cash rents*.—These raiyats comprise 75 per cent. of all the settled raiyats in the district and call for no especial mention except that this proportion is probably smaller than that in any other district in the Province. The tendency in the Bankura district is in the direction of a diminution of this class of raiyat in favour of raiyats holding on produce rents.

The proportion which settled raiyats on cash rents bear to all other kinds of settled raiyats is 82 per cent. in the Midnapore district and 97 per cent. in Tippera.

(b) *Settled raiyats on produce rents*.—Produce rents are of two kinds. Firstly where the rent consists of a fixed amount

of the produce, that is, so many maunds of paddy. This form of produce rent is known as *sanja*.

Secondly, when the rent consists of a share of the produce. The rent is usually one-half of the gross produce of the land, though sometimes it is fixed at nine-sixteenths. This form of produce rent is known as *bhag*.

Of the total area of land in the possession of settled raiyats 11 per cent. is held on *sanja* rent and 5 per cent. *bhag*.

In the adjoining district of Midnapore, a smaller area proportionately is held on produce rents and here the *bhag* form of rental predominates. Of the total area of land held by settled raiyats those on *bhag* rentals are in possession of 6 per cent. while those on *sanja* rentals hold only 3.9 per cent.

Produce rentals are of little importance in Eastern Bengal. In Tippera out of the total area of land held by settled raiyats only 2 per cent. is held in *sanja* and 45 per cent. in *bhag*.

(c) *Settled raiyats holding on a mixed produce and cash rent.*—Holdings on mixed rentals are numerous in the district, and account for no less than 9 per cent. of the total area held by settled raiyats. This form of rental has its origin in the sale for arrears of rent of an ordinary cash-paying tenancy and its resettlement with the former tenant on the original cash rent with the addition of a fixed amount of produce. As previously noted, sales of holdings are frequent owing to the poverty and thriftlessness of the people, hence the prevalence of this form of tenancy.

70. Non-occupancy raiyats.—Almost all raiyats in the district have acquired occupancy rights, and the number of non-occupancy raiyats holding either on cash or produce rents is so small as to be negligible. It may be noted that where non-occupancy raiyats exist they hold almost invariably high lands of little value. The incidence of their rental is therefore low.

71. Under-raiyats.—The area in the direct possession of under-raiyats amounts to 66,519 acres or 4 per cent. of the total area of the district, as against 3.42 per cent. and 2.8 per cent. the area held by under-raiyats in Midnapore and Tippera, respectively.

Subtle variations in the rights of the various grades of tenants are not understood in a backward district such as Bankura, and it may be asserted that under-raiyats paying rents in cash are ordinarily regarded as having permanent interests in the land. So much indeed is this the case that it is common to find a *mokarari patta* granted by a raiyat to his under-raiyat, purporting to give the latter permanent rights together with the right of free transfer and fixity of rent. Such *mokarari patta* can, of course, confer legally no permanent rights, and in such cases in the record of rights the *khatian* was opened as for an ordinary under-raiyat, a reference to the *mokarari patta* and the date of its execution being made in the "Incidents" column.

Throughout the district indeed in a large number of cases it was found that under-raiyats had acquired occupancy rights by custom. This was especially the case in respect of homestead lands and lands which the under-raiyat had originally reclaimed from jungle. Where such rights were claimed or appeared on enquiry to exist, the Attestation Officer would draw up a proceeding, take evidence and come to a finding, and would record the rights of the under-raiyats on the basis of that finding. Occupancy rights were recorded for under-raiyats in no less than 20,141 cases in respect of 11,368 acres of land. Under-raiyats commonly hold either on cash rent or on produce rent of either kind.

72. Rent and rent incidence.—The following is the average rate of rent per acre for settled raiyats in each thana in the district.

Thana.	Incidence of rent per acre.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Raipur	0	14	8
Simlapal	0	12	2
Ranibandh	0	7	10
Khatra	0	10	8
Chhatna	0	13	7
Indpur	0	12	10
Mejlia	2	2	3
Saltora	1	14	9
Gangajalghati	2	1	7
Barjora	1	11	0
Taldangra	0	11	11
Onda	1	10	6
Bankura	1	8	1
Sadar subdivision	1	3	9

Thana.	Incidence of rent per acre.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Sonamukhi	2	5	9
Patrasair	3	5	11
Indas	4	6	1
Kotalpur	4	10	3
Siromanipur	4	2	6
Joypur	3	12	6
Bishnupur	1	8	8
Radhanagar	2	3	7
Bishnupur subdivision	3	4	6
Average for the whole district	1	12	7

The average incidence of rent per acre in other districts is given below :—

Thana.	Incidence of rent per acre.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Midnapore	3	15	5
Tippera	3	2	2
Noakhali	4	4	5
Chittagong	5	0	0
Bakarganj	4	8	10
Faridpur	2	9	2
Dacca	2	13	0
Bankura	1	12	7

The average incidence of rent for the whole district is, therefore, very much lower than for any other district for which a record of rights has been prepared, probably lower than for any other district in the province. The reason is not far to seek. Bankura, which forms the connecting link between the Chota Nagpur plateau and the flat paddy lands of Bengal proper, consists of rolling country forming uplands and valleys. The cultivated lands vary, therefore, enormously in fertility from the rich paddy lands at the bottom of the valleys to the almost valueless uplands on which a sparse *rabi* crop such as *biri*, *kodo*, etc. can with difficulty be made to grow. Indeed in the west of the district cash rents are low throughout, but they vary considerably and in some cases are almost nominal. In central Bankura cash rents are somewhat higher than in the west but even here they are low. But both in the west and centre of the district the proportion of produce-paying tenancies is very large.

In the Bishnupur subdivision on the other hand which consists mainly of flat paddy lands, differing little from the lands of the adjoining districts of Hooghly and Burdwan, the average incidence of rent is fairly high

in comparison with that of other districts. In thanas Indas, Kotalpur, Siromanipur and Joypur, the average rate per acre exceeds Rs. 4. Here produce-paying tenancies are few.

Throughout the district the rentals are lump rentals and are not really based on rates at all, and, curiously enough, so far as cash rents are concerned, the landlords appear in general to have made no attempt to enhance the rents. Rents have been enhanced only by a few landlords who have come in recently by purchase, *e.g.*, the Bengal Coal Company. The rates laid down by the Collector, Mr. Keating, in 1792 and known as Keating's *nirikhnama* apply with equal force to-day to central and eastern Bankura. The western thanas were at that time excluded from the district. Keating's rates varied from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7. per higha for *sona* (two-cropped) lands, and from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 for *sali* (paddy) lands.

73. Produce rents.—The really important problem for the Western Bengal districts, and for Bankura perhaps most of all, is the problem of produce rents, and this is a problem which yet awaits solution.

I have pointed out that produce rent is a form of rent of little importance in Eastern Bengal and not very frequently met with there. The opposite is the case in Western Bengal. In Bankura of all the lands in the possession of settled raiyats, no less than one-quarter is held on produce rent or on a mixed cash and produce rent. In this district produce and mixed rents are steadily increasing at the expense of the original cash rents.

This increase in the number of produce-paying tenancies is easily accounted for. The people of the district are poor and thriftless. Famine and scarcity are of frequent occurrence. Against a failure of crops the people have no reserves on which they can fall back. They must borrow for their food and for the seeds which will give them their livelihood in the coming year. Their lands are their only security for the money or the grain which they borrow. Sooner or later they are unable to pay the interest on the debt and their lands are sold up. As a rule the landlord is also the money-lender, and is the natural purchaser of the holding when it is put up for sale. He is the only person interested in the purchase of the land who has sufficient capital to purchase it. It

happens, therefore, that there are no bidders at the sale and the holding is knocked down to the landlord-mahajan for a fraction of its value, for a sum just sufficient to cover the amount decreed against the tenant. Having secured possession of the holding, the landlord resettles it with the original occupant on a produce (usually a *sanja*) rent. He is the natural and convenient person with whom settlement may be made, and the natural love of the Bengali cultivator for his home and his aversion to emigration make him submit even to the payment of a rack rent provided he can at all find subsistence in his own village.

The result is economically disastrous. Unable to avoid debt when subject to the payment of a comparatively small cash rent, it is not to be supposed that the cultivator will succeed in keeping clear of debt when burdened with the payment of a very heavy produce rent. It is a vicious circle, and while such a state of things continues not only can no improvement be expected in the material condition of the cultivator, but it is difficult to expect any improvement in the system of agriculture. In defence of the system it is urged on behalf of the landlord that he has paid for the purchase of the holding in cash and must expect some increase in the rent to recoup him for this expenditure. The argument is specious, but it is certainly no argument against a change in present conditions.

Experience has shown that produce rents are economically unsound. They are in the best interests neither of the district, nor of the landlord, nor of the tenant. It has been calculated that the highest proportion of the gross produce of the holding which can economically be demanded is one-fifth. *Sanja* rents ordinarily are calculated on the basis of one-third of the gross produce of the holding in a normal year. *Bhag* rents consist of one-half, and sometimes even nine-sixteenths of the gross produce of the holding; while mixed cash and produce rents often represent an even higher proportion. These rents are clearly rack rents, and it is the persistent and rapid spread of produce rents in this district, and indeed in Western Bengal as a whole that constitutes a real obstacle to any improvement in agricultural conditions and any raising of the people themselves in the scale of civilisation.

In a district such as Bankura where the cultivator is faced with the probability of a total or partial failure of crops

every third or fourth year, the system of *bhag* rental has something to recommend it. The rent varies according to the crop. With *sanja* rentals it is otherwise. Though the crops fail the rent remains the same, and in a famine year the tenant must inevitably have recourse to the money-lender. The figures in Appendix IX will show that *sanja* rentals are much commoner than *bhag* rentals. In a district where famines are frequent *sanja* are more advantageous than *bhag* rentals to the landlords. They get their regular income from the land in spite of failure of crops. It is consequently the landlords' endeavour to make all new settlements or re-settlements on a *sanja* rental. In Bankura the raiyats are not only ignorant and helpless but they are thoroughly subservient to the landlords. The result is the increase in *sanja* rents and the consequent increasing impoverishment of the district. It is only in the east of the district where little waste land is to be found and where the tenants are comparatively prosperous that the danger is less insistent. Here *sanja* tenancies are less frequent and there is little opportunity of new settlement or resettlement.

This question of produce rents appears to me to be the most pressing agricultural problem in Western Bengal, and one for which some remedy is imperative. To deal with the matter by legislation is not easy, and so far as I am aware, no effort was made to tackle the problem in the recent Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act draft. In the present Bengal Tenancy Act the sole provision regarding produce rents is contained in section 40, which provides a means of commuting the produce rent to cash rent. The working of this section has, however, been found far from satisfactory, and in this district has remained almost inoperative, as the raiyats, possibly out of fear of the landlords, do not apply for commutation.

In the direction of fresh legislation it would probably be desirable to differentiate between produce-paying tenancies of long standing, and produce rents newly imposed on lands formerly held on cash rents. In the case of the latter restrictions might be placed on the amount of produce rent demandable. I would suggest that a limit should be fixed according to which the rent should not exceed one-fifth or one-fourth of the

gross produce. Apart from other considerations, restrictions on the letting value of a holding would reduce the value of the raiyati security, and, by making borrowing more difficult, might in the end induce thrift.

But by far more important than any legislation is to teach the cultivators self-help and, by increasing their resources, to raise them above the necessity of having recourse to the mahajan. It is in the poorer districts that Co-operative Societies can be of most value and it is precisely in these districts that they are most neglected owing to the lack of competent persons to conduct them. Direct personal supervision is an essential, but the trouble would be more than amply repaid.

74. Previous surveys.—For a clear understanding of parts of this report and more especially of the portion relating to the actual work of the preparation of the map and the record some account is necessary of the surveys which were made in the district previously. For the account here given I am indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Hirst, formerly Director of Surveys, Bengal.

75. The Survey of Major James Rennell, 1767-1774.—In the time of the great geographer Rennell what is now the district of Bankura comprised the area then known as Bishnupur with portions of Pachete, Burdwan and Midnapur. The area was mapped by Rennell on the scale of 5 miles to the inch, and he subsequently published reductions of those maps on the scale of 10 miles to the inch in his famous Atlas of 1779-81. It was not until 1917 that the 5 miles to an inch maps were published in an Atlas containing hitherto unpublished maps by Rennell, and explained in a memoir compiled by Lieutenant-Colonel Hirst. In the Atlas of 1917 the Bankura district is shown on Plates 52 and 53. Rennell's assistants in these surveys were Carter, Du Glos, Call, Portsmouth, Martin and Richards. The maps are of little but sentimental and historical value; and the boundaries shown on them are not to be relied upon. The most correct work will be found along the paths and tracks shown on the maps as roads, and near the lines of communications.

76. Thakbast surveys, 1853-1855 and 1862-1864.—At the time of the

thakbast and revenue surveys the district of Bankura had not attained its present limits. The revenue thanas of Chhatna, Khatra and Raipur, comprising the present thanas of Saltora, Chhatna, Indpur, Khatra, Ranibandh, Raipur and Simlapal, were at that time included in the district of Manbhum. These thanas were accordingly surveyed in the thakbast survey of Manbhum which was made during the years 1862 to 1864. The maps prepared during this survey were severely criticised by the Deputy Surveyor-General, who remarked that he had never seen such bad *thak* maps and observed: "In many cases there was little or no resemblance between the boundaries as obtained by the two modes of survey, thakbast and professional". Indeed at the time of the settlement operations the Manbhum thakbast maps were found quite useless for any purposes of comparison. It has been explained elsewhere that in the western thanas of the district the estates are all large and comprised in compact blocks. No *chaks* of estates are therefore to be found in these maps, neither do they contain any *chaks* of ghatwali or chaukidari *chakran* lands.

In the remaining eastern thanas of the district 910 square miles were dealt with in 1853-54 and 900 in 1854-55. The succeeding revenue survey, however, only accounted for 1,349 square miles, a discrepancy which it is difficult to explain.

Mr. H. M. Reid was in charge of this *thak* survey which was carried out under the system adopted in 1857, a system which showed a great advance on former systems. But apparently owing to the interlaced nature of the ghatwali tenures, the maps did not afford that guidance to the revenue surveyors which had been expected. They, therefore, criticised the maps adversely. The Board of Revenue was, however, satisfied with the maps as will appear from a remark made in connection with the ghatwali tenures as shown therein.—

"It is an agreeable surprise..... to find that the difficulties have been overcome at the cost of only some additional annoyance and labour to the surveyor". It may easily be that, at least in the eastern portion of Bankura, the surveyors were ultra-critical. There Mr. Reid and his staff dealt with the demarcation of 74,953 separate *chaks*, a task immeasurably greater than any

thing that had been attempted before. At that time any demarcation officer who could not give a satisfactory output by area measurement—almost regardless of an area's contents—was unpopular with the Board of Revenue; and it probably happened that Mr. Reid's staff had the choice between damaged prospects and unsatisfactory work. A mistake that was made was that the *khasra* system of survey—the father of the modern cadastral system—was not adopted in the areas of the maximum interlacing of estates. The thakbast maps of the eastern portion of the district were found on comparison with our maps to have attained a considerable degree of accuracy both in respect of boundary and of internal plotting of *chaks* .

77. Revenue survey.—As was the case with the thakbast survey, the revenue survey was made in two distinct blocks, at two different periods. The eastern portion of the district was surveyed from 1854-1856, the western portion from 1861-1867.

The Survey of 1854-1856 was under the superintendence of Captain Gastrell and Mr. C. Bradley, the former being absent from August 1855 to January 1856 whilst employed with his regiment during the Santal rebellion. Gastrell was amongst the most able of the old revenue surveyors. This survey is interesting as being the first in which the system of mapping each village separately was discarded in favour of what is known as the *chaddar* system, by which a number of village maps appear congregated on one page. Discrepancies of a serious nature occurred between Gastrell's survey of the Midnapore-Bankura boundary and the survey of Midnapore by Captain Matheson and Mr. Wilson. Gastrell's results were upheld. Gastrell connected with 17 great trigonometrical stations of the Calcutta longitudinal series of the main triangulation of India. The survey was, therefore, very well controlled, and the theodolite traverse results were good.

The western portion of Bankura was surveyed by Major T. Sherwell, another revenue surveyor of great capacity, and Captain McDonald. The original maps of this survey are in Bihar and Orissa. The survey calls for no special comments.

78. Cadastral surveys 1888-1893.—On the application of the Maharaja of

Burdwan the cadastral survey of the Burdwan khas mahals of Bankura was taken up, and a similar survey was made in Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore and Hooghly.

In 1888-89 the mahals Huda Rupal, Sonamukhi and the Ghats were taken up, 177 villages being traversed with the theodolite and 42 cadastrally surveyed on the scale of 16 inches to the mile. It was soon found that the patnidars were in possession of far more land than their leases covered, and it was decided to extend the operations.

In 1889-90 tauzi No. 4 was traversed and 323 villages were cadastrally surveyed on the scale of 16 inches to the mile. A record of rights of these villages was also compiled. The operations covered an area of 226.93 square miles. In addition the boundaries of 235 villages, covering an area of 147.3 square miles, were surveyed on the 4-inch scale.

In 1890-91 the boundaries of 921 villages were relaid from the thakbast maps and the demarcation was tested by independent surveys on the 4-inch scale. Salient points were marked with permanent marks.

In December 1891 work was commenced in tauzis Nos. 1, 2 and 3, the object being to find who was in possession of Raj lands and whether they were Khas or leased in *patni* . In 1891-92, 1,656 villages, covering an area of 614 square miles, were traversed, and 44 villages, covering an area of 11.29 square miles, were cadastrally surveyed. This traverse seems excessive, but it was decided to embrace the scattered villages already traversed and those for future examination in tauzis Nos. 1 to 4 in one main block divided into nine main circuits and connected with nine great trigonometrical stations. The villages contained in this block were projected on the 4-inch scale. In 1892-93 the work was completed the programme consisting of 1,432 villages with 6,886 *chaks* and covering 782.9 square miles. No cadastral survey was done, but the village boundaries were surveyed on the 4-inch scale.

The maps of this survey are lodged in the Surveyor-General's Office, his officers having conducted the survey; copies of the maps with the original *khasras* , etc., were supplied to the Burdwan Raj.

CHAPTER VII.

The present operations

79. Initiation and progress.—

According to the programme for the survey and record of rights of the Province, the traverse survey of the Bankura district was to have been started from the cold weather of 1914-15, and the cadastral survey was to have commenced from the following year. Not only did the district adjoin Midnapore, of which the traverse survey had just been completed, but a peculiar reason for the preparation of a record of rights lay in the fact that aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes formed a considerable element in the population. In the adjoining province of Bihar and Orissa special legislation had been passed to protect the Santals and kindred aboriginal races, and a survey and a record of rights of the Santal Parganas had been completed to give effect to that legislation. In Bengal Mr. McAlvin had been deputed as long ago as the year 1909 to enquire into the condition of the Santals and other aboriginal tribes inhabiting the districts of Midnapore, Birbhum and Bankura. This enquiry had brought to light the essential fact that these aboriginals owing to their ignorance were entirely at the mercy of their landlords and of the money-lenders. As a result these unfortunate peoples had been largely dispossessed of their lands by very questionable means and were rack-rented for the lands which they were still allowed to retain. It was hoped that settlement operations undertaken in these districts by sympathetic officers would do much to improve the position of the aboriginals, and that the existence of an authentic record of rights would serve as a protection against their oppressors for the future. Settlement operations were nearing completion in the Midnapore district, and a special petty settlement for the Santal areas had already been undertaken in the Rampurhat subdivision of the Birbhum district. Bankura alone remained, and the intention was to start operations in this district as soon as the Midnapore party could be relieved.

The first proposals for the inception of settlement operations in the Bankura

district were submitted by the Director of Land Records in August 1914,* and the sanction of the Government of India to these proposals was received in October of the same year†. According to these proposals the district was to have been divided into three blocks. The six westernmost thanas, where the Santals principally reside, were to have been surveyed during the first year, the five central thanas during the second and the eight thanas which comprise the Bishnupur subdivision during the third. From the point of view of area the programme of field work thus decided on was far heavier for the first two years than for the third, but not only is the area under waste and jungle greater in the Sadar than in the Bishnupur subdivision, but it was anticipated also that in the latter subdivision the incidence of plots and interests would be far heavier than in the former, and the record itself more complicated. A traverse survey of the six westernmost thanas, covering an area of 968 square miles, was actually completed during the cold weather of 1914-15, but the outbreak of the War in Europe effectually upset the previous arrangements, and the subsequent operations were postponed *sine die*.

Meanwhile, early in 1917, it was represented to the Government of India by the Mining and Geological Institute, Calcutta, that 4 inch to the mile contour maps of all the coal-field areas were urgently required in the interests of the coal industry. It does not appear that the Mining and Geological Institute had any very clear idea of its real requirements, but the result of the representation was that, under the orders of the Government of India, the programme was changed and the Director of Land Records was instructed to include the subdivision of Asansol in the Bankura Settlement Operations "in compliance with the wishes of the Government of India for the production at the earliest possible date of 4 inch to the mile maps

* Commissioner of Burdwan's memorandum No. 115 R.G., dated the 15th August 1914, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Revenue Department, forwarding Director of Land Records letter No. 2 I-6148 dated the 4th August 1914. Letter of Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, No. 9329 L. R., dated the 12th September 1914, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture.

† Letter of the Secretary to the Government of India Department of Revenue and Agriculture, No. 1191-381-2, dated the 29th October 1914, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

of the coal-fields of Bengal suitable for mining purposes”*.

The Asansol subdivision contains the bulk of the Bengal coal areas. The south of the Birbhum district, where coal-mining has already started, was to be omitted from the present operations, but it was decided that this area should be taken up for survey as soon as the Bankura operations had closed. In consultation with the Director of Surveys it was agreed that in the Asansol coal area the usual procedure for traverse and cadastral survey should be followed, but that during the traverse survey the relative height of the traverse stations should be obtained, so that the work of contouring, which might be undertaken at a later stage, would be simplified. It was proposed that the contour maps should be prepared by the Survey of India, and that the 4 inch to the mile maps prepared in the ordinary course of the operations by the Settlement staff, should serve as a basis for these contour maps. It is difficult to understand how the expense of preparing maps with 10-foot contours can be justified or what practical use such contour maps would be to the coal industry. Moreover, it would seem that 10-foot contours would be too far apart to serve any practical useful purpose.

When therefore the revised proposals were submitted by the Director of Land Records* and approved by the Government of India† in 1918, the whole of the Asansol subdivision was included in the area to be surveyed and settled, and the whole area under settlement was divided into four in place of the original three blocks, the Asansol subdivision being included in the second block together with an area of 179 square miles in the north of Bankura.

Out of a total area of 2,647 square miles which forms the district, a map and a record of rights already existed for an area of 43 square miles, but the villages previously surveyed were scattered and both the maps and the records were considered to be inaccurate and

antiquated. It was decided, therefore, that the whole of the district, including these previously surveyed areas, should be brought under survey and settlement in the course of the proposed operations.

In the Director of Land Record's proposals, calculated according to the revenue survey areas, the total area of the district was shown as 2,621 square miles; after the survey the actual area of the district was found to be 2,647 square miles. The difference is due to the fact that, whereas according to the notification the entire river Damodar is included within the Bankura district, at the time of the revenue survey the river was included in some villages and excluded in others.

80. Organisation of work.—The whole district, together with the subdivision of Asansol was divided into four blocks, in which field work was to be started in four successive years.

The first block consisted of the six western and southern thanas, Chhatna, Indpur, Khatra, Ranibandh, Raipur and Simlapal. Work was started in this area first of all as it is was here mainly that the aborigines had their homes.

The second block consisted of Saltora and Mejhia, the two northernmost thanas of Bankura, together with the whole of the Asansol subdivision. Work was started thus early in the Asansol subdivision so as to give effect to the Government of India order that the 4 inch to a mile maps of the coal-field area should be prepared as soon as possible.

The centre of the district formed the third block which comprised Gangajalghati, Barjora, Bankura, Taldangra and Onda thanas.

The fourth block consisted of the entire Bishnupur subdivision.

According to programme during the first season field work up to the stage of *bujharat*, that is cadastral survey, *khana-puri*, initial recess and *bujharat*, was to be completed of the first block. In the second year field work up to the stage of *bujharat* was to be done of the second block, while the remainder of the work up to the stage of final *janch* of the first block was to be completed. Similarly, in the third and fourth years it was proposed to finish field work of the third and fourth blocks up to the stage of *bujharat*, while the remaining work of the second and third blocks up to the

* Letter of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Director of Land Records, No. 1269 T.R., dated the 21st September 1917.

* Director of Land Records' letter No. II-5-2673, dated the 14th March 1918, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

† Letter of Under Secretary to the Government of India, No. 441-147-2, dated the 28th May 1918, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

stage of final *janch* would be completed. Thus by the end of the fifth season 1921-22 the work of the whole area up to the stage of final *janch* was to be finished. Each block was divided for the convenience of work into ten or twelve

circles, each in charge of a Circle Officer, and each circle was divided ordinarily into six *halkas*, each in charge of a *kanungo*.

The table below will show the progress of work year by year :—

Statement of yearly Progress.

Year.	Thanas.	Cadastral.	Thanas.	Attestation.	Objection.	Final publication.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Plots.		Khatians.	Cases.	Thanas.	
1918-19	6 thanas of A Block	10, 26, 398	....	....	..	....	The total number of khatians found after Attestation was 945,173. Final Janch—948,951, Printing with re-prints 962,085.
	B Block.						
1919-20	2 thanas of Bankura and 10 thanas of Asansol.	1,047,647	6 thanas of A Block.	150,627	5,512	1. Simlapal. 2. Kanibandh. 3. Raipur. 4. Khatra.	
1920-21	5 thanas of C Block	1,159,291	12 thanas of B Block.	226,972	24,089	1. Indpur. 2. Chhatna. 3. All thanas of B Block.	
1921-22	8 thanas of D Block partly.	730,584	5 thanas of C Block.	226,643	7,898		
1922-23	Ditto ..	561,134	8 thanas of D Block partly.	256,105	5,769	1. All thanas of C Block.	
1923-24 .. ..	....	....	Ditto	82,826	7,384	1. Bishnupur. 2. Joypur. 3. Kotalpur. 4. Siromanipur. 5. Indas. 6. Patrasayer.	
1924-25 .. ..	....	....	....	....	..	1. Sonamukhi. 2. Radhanagar.	
Total ..	....	4,525,054	....	943,173	50,652		

Names of thanas of each Block.

Block.

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| A. (1) Chhatna, | (2) Indpur, | (3) Khatra, | (4) Raibandh, | (5) Raipur, | (6) Simlapal. |
| B. (1) Saltora, | (2) Mejhin, | (3) Asansol, | (4) Siromanipur, | (5) Disergar, | (6) Salanpur, |
| (7) Barabani, | (8) Jamuria, | (9) Raniganj, | (10) Ondal, | (11) Faridpur, | (12) Kanksa. |
| C. (1) Bankura, | (2) Gangajalghati, | (3) Barjora, | (4) On la, | (5) Taldangra. | |
| D. (1) Bishnupur, | (2) Joypur, | (3) Siromanipur, | (4) Kotalpur, | (5) Indas, | (6) Patrasayer, (7) Radhanagar. |
| (8) Sonamukhi. | | | | | |

81. **The staff—gazetted officers.**—The gazetted staff of a major settlement consists ordinarily of one Settlement Officer, one or sometimes two Charge Officers for cadastral, a Charge Officer for attestation, and a varying number of cadastral and attestation Circle Officers.

During the last few years two factors have contributed to cause a decrease in the number of gazetted officers employed; the first is the necessity for economy which becomes yearly more insistent, the second is the natural desire to retain in employment as large a number of kanungos as possible. In the Settlement Department the reduction of a four-party programme to a two-party programme has necessarily involved the discharge of a number of Kanungos, who had done nothing to deserve such a fate.

The decrease in the number of gazetted officers employed in the Settlement

Department is, I think, a misfortune from every point of view. The substitution of kanungos for gazetted officers in posts ordinarily held by the latter is not mainly a question of efficiency, for a competent kanungo is capable of doing excellent work at any rate as an Attestation Officer. It is a question both of training and of prestige. It is important from the point of view of general administration that advantage should be taken of settlement operations for the purpose of training officers in all branches of revenue work. The necessity for such a training is a very real one, and it is difficult indeed for an officer to acquire a thorough revenue training in any other way.

The original suggestion for the employment of Munsifs in the Settlement Department came from the late Major Jack; it was his conviction that Munsifs who had worked as Assistant

Settlement Officers would understand the record of rights and realise its value, with the result that they would themselves consult it and would insist on its being produced before them in any case in which the question of the right, title, possession, or rent of land was in issue. Results have thoroughly justified the proposal and its adoption, and the modern tendency to reduce the recruitment of Munsifs to the Settlement Department or to abolish it altogether is to be deplored.

Again, apart from the advantages of the employment of gazetted officers in the Settlement Department from the point of view of the training of the officers themselves, it cannot be doubted that an officer of superior rank has more influence with the public and that his decisions carry more weight. The employment of gazetted officers is, therefore, desirable in the interests of the Settlement Department itself. For this reason it is to be hoped that, when the financial situation improves, Deputy Collectors and Munsifs will be employed in major settlements in the same numbers as was the case before the War.

82. **Kanungos.**—The Kanungos have long been regarded as the backbone of the Settlement Department. It is true that the bulk of the work is done by them, and it has been done on the whole very well indeed. Unfortunately the whole cadre is now becoming dissatisfied with its position and prospects, and this dissatisfaction is having an inevitable effect on the quality of the work. The discontent is not without justification; and it is a matter for consideration whether, in the absence of any improvement in the conditions of the service either by way of pension or of provident fund, recruitment should not now be stopped.

There is another factor which vitally affects the quality of the Kanungo's work. I mean the necessity of adjusting the programme in proportion to the number of Kanungos employed. There is, I believe, a Government resolution to the effect that field work shall not ordinarily be extended beyond the month of June, a very salutary resolution were it but possible to observe it. To continue field work after the break of the monsoon is a virtual impossibility in Eastern Bengal. In Western Bengal districts it is physically possible, but experience has shown that it has had such an injurious

effect on the health of the Kanungos and on the quality of their work as to make it most undesirable. And I should strongly urge that in future the programme of work be so arranged as to allow a clear three months respite from field work for all Kanungos.

Under ordinary circumstances a Kanungo can be expected to maintain an outturn of about 4,000 plots per month and to complete the *bujharat* of about 15,000 plots during the season. Much will, however, depend on the difficulties of the survey and the date when it may be possible to start the work of *bujharat*. Experience in this settlement has shown the necessity of keeping a few Kanungos in reserve. If, for example, 65 Kanungos are allotted to a settlement, the number of *halkas* into which the area is divided should not exceed 60. It was found in the Bankura settlement that some Kanungos invariably fell ill during the field season and were incapacitated for further work. In consequence it was necessary to give to one Kanungo the superintendence of two *halkas*. This was clearly an impossible task to perform adequately and disorganisation always resulted. If the number of Kanungos required by the Settlement Officer is not available, it is desirable in my opinion to enlarge the size of the *halkas* so as to provide for a reserve of a few Kanungos.

The Bankura settlement, as I shall show later on, was throughout understaffed, possibly from a mistaken idea that the work to be done was easy, whereas in fact the survey, which is the stage in the proceedings which takes the longest time, is probably the most difficult in the Province. The consequence was that in the first two field seasons the work of *bujharat* continued till the end of September, the third field season till the beginning of August, while in the fourth year it was found quite impossible to finish the programme and hence the work was stopped at the end of July to be completed in the following year.

The continuance of work in the field almost to the close of the rains had its ill effect both on the health of the Kanungos as well as on the quality of the work, and it was difficult for the Settlement Officer to escape the feeling that he was asking more of his staff than was either right or fair.

83. Special problems—their cause and their remedy.—The settlements of Bankura and Jessore did not start under the happiest auspices. With the exception of Tippera-Noakhali, where operations had commenced in October 1914, no new settlement work had been started since the outbreak of the War. As a consequence it had been found necessary to reduce the staff of the department considerably; a number of Kanungos had been discharged and no new recruits had been enlisted. When, therefore, work was started in these two settlements, of the Kanungos employed many were altogether new and untrained, and of the remainder a number had been out of touch with settlement work for a full three years. For similar reasons the gazetted officers were almost all new to the work. Thus the preliminary work of training the staff and forming it into a homogeneous whole was one of more than usual difficulty. But, be it said, it is not my intention by these remarks to cast any reflection on the work of the staff as a whole, for whose loyalty and good work in the face of difficulties I have nothing but admiration. On the other hand the work of training these various elements had been rendered easier by the publication in 1916 of a new and up-to-date "Survey and Settlement Manual" and by the simultaneous publication of the "Technical Rules and Instructions of the Settlement Department," which for the first time laid down definite rules to be followed in all settlements for all branches of work. To the necessity for full and complete rules any Settlement Officer will testify, and before the publication of these rules it was often the case that the Settlement Officer of a new settlement had to learn over again what experience had taught his predecessors.

The operations in these two districts are further interesting as forming a transitional stage between pre-war and post-war conditions and as witnessing the beginnings of certain difficulties which will inevitably loom large in subsequent operations. These difficulties may be divided under two heads, (1) financial and (2) political.

Under the first head it may be observed that the cost of settlement operations must be considerably larger than was the case before the War if the standard of efficiency is to be maintained. The department has from the start

been administered with so strict a regard for economy that in scarcely any direction is retrenchment possible. The fact must be realised that a Settlement Officer cannot make bricks without straw and that the settlement staff must be paid a fair and adequate wage. The costs of settlement have been so low hitherto that this added cost will not be severely left by the agricultural population, on whom the burden will fall.

A consideration of the number of Kanungos to be employed and the adequacy of their pay is part of the same question. It is on them that the bulk of the field work falls, and it is desirable that a sufficient staff should be employed so as to ensure the completion of field work within the month of June. Year after year this settlement has worked with a staff whose numbers were inadequate. In the first two years of the settlement *bujharat* was not completed until the close of September, and in no year before August. The result has been a stale and weary staff whose work has deteriorated in spite of themselves as the season advanced and whose health in many cases has failed. The pay and conditions of service of Kanungos are matters beyond the jurisdiction of a Settlement Officer, but they alone, I believe, of all Government servants, have received no increase of pay to compensate them for the increased cost of living, and signs are not lacking that a sense of grievances unredressed and claims unconsidered will sooner or later affect the efficiency of this most hard-worked and most deserving body of Government officers.

In this settlement a general increase of pay was given in the year 1920 to all members of the subordinate staff, both establishment and job and contract. This increase gave on the average to each individual an addition of 30 per cent. to the pay which he drew when he first joined the settlement. I believe that this increase was necessary and was granted none too soon to prevent legitimate discontent.

The question of the pay of amins is a far more complicated problem. The amins are a body of experts who leave their homes to work in the department for five or six months only. They bring with them a mohurir, whose wages they pay, and they are responsible for the recruitment and the payment of the coolies necessary for their work. They are paid by contract and their fees were

originally Rs. 10 per 100 acres for the finished map, which rate was raised to Rs. 12-8 in the season 1921-22. For preliminary record writing they are paid Rs. 2 per 100 plots.

The work of cadastral survey comprises the location of the traverse stations; the cutting of quadrilaterals, the plotting of the village boundary, the completion of the internal plotting, and finally the inking of the map in Cobalt blue. In a difficult Western Bengal district the all-round rate of progress of an average amin seldom exceeds 10 acres daily. His average monthly earnings would thus amount to Rs. 30 or under the new scale to Rs. 37-8. Out of this the wages of his mohurir and of his three coolies have to be paid. Such a rate of pay is clearly inadequate, and in the field season 1921-22 a special allowance of Rs. 10 per month was granted as a temporary measure to cover a portion of the cost of the coolies.

It is certain that theamins receive free board and lodging for themselves and their mohurirs in the village in which they are working. Usually the villagers provide coolies also. It may be surmised that theamins exact money if and where they can. It is true that complaints against theamins for illegal extortion of money were very few, but in a backward district this proves little. It is probable that in a few cases an organised levy was made on the villagers, each being asked to contribute in proportion to the amount of land which he held. Where such a levy was made it is hardly possible that the Kanungo in charge of the *halka* could have remained in ignorance of the fact; but so anxious is the Kanungo to keep hisamins contented that he will seldom report such cases of bribery or extortion as come to his notice.

It is difficult to find a remedy for such a state of affairs. Theoretically the amin should be given an adequate wage, but it is improbable that an increase in their rates of pay would have any effect in stopping theamins from taking money illegally. The amin is fully aware that if his misdeeds are detected by a superior officer he will be dismissed and steps will be taken to prevent his subsequent employment in Government service, but the probabilities of detection are small, and the villagers concerned are the last people to come forward and expose theamins. It is public opinion which is at fault. So long

as the taking of bribes is not regarded as a social crime, so long as the perpetrator does not fall in the estimation of his fellowmen, so long will this iniquity continue. It can but be hoped that the spread of education, and the weight of responsibility gradually imposed on these entrusted with local and provincial self-government will at length produce a public opinion that will effectually put a stop to this and kindred evils.

The second difficulty I have labelled political. By this I refer to the hostility manifested of late years under the name of non-co-operation towards all Government officials and to all forms of Government activity. Such a movement is especially dangerous in relation to settlement operations, for the cultivators are not only ignorant and easily led, but are peculiarly susceptible where their land is concerned. A cry that a survey of their fields will damage their crops is enough to provoke them to resist theamins and obstruct their work.

It has long been evident that the powers of a Settlement Officer are quite out of proportion to his responsibilities, and although the question has been raised from time to time, no steps at all have been taken to make those powers adequate. It may be asked, what are the powers of a Settlement Officer? He has, of course, no executive powers at all, and no more authority to invoke police assistance than the private individual. In the event of his orders being disobeyed or his subordinates obstructed, he is powerless to punish. He can, it is true, summon a recalcitrant person under Order XVI of the Civil Procedure Code, or issue a special notice on him under section 7 of the Survey Act. The power of summons under the Civil Procedure Code is really ineffective, because it is only the power to summon a person to appear before himself. He has no power to insist on appearance before his subordinates in the field. The efficacy of a special notice under section 7 of the Survey Act is nullified by the fact that 15 days must elapse between the date of the service of notice and the date fixed for appearance. Before such a notice can be effective the work in the village concerned is usually completed.

In former days when respect for constituted authority was so marked a characteristic of the Bengali people, adequate statutory powers were not ordinarily necessary to a Settlement

Officer for the successful performance of his duty. It was sufficient for the Settlement Officer or the officers subordinate to him to command for the people to obey. Now the Settlement Officer may expect obstruction, active or passive, not because the obstructionists object to his work but because he is an official of Government.

The time has, therefore, come and indeed is long overdue for arming the Settlement Officer with powers sufficient to ensure the protection of his staff and the progress of his work. As a first instalment I would suggest that the provisions of section 7 of the Bengal Survey Act be revised, that the proviso imposing an interval of 15 days between the service of the summons and the date of appearance be forthwith abolished, and the Superintendent of Survey be authorised to vest all Revenue Officers with powers under the section. To unite in one person the posts of Settlement Officer and of Collector of the district is, I believe, the one really effective method of giving adequate powers to the Settlement Officer, and such an amalgamation might be tried with advantage in a small district as an experiment.

84. The preparation of cadastral maps.—The various stages of work which go to the making of the finished cadastral map have been described in detail in "The Technical Rules and Instructions of the Settlement Department." They are—

- (1) Traverse survey.
- (2) Cadastral survey.
- (3) Extraction and proving of areas.
- (4) Boundary comparison.
- (5) Final inking and checking of sheets.

85. The unit of survey.—The choice of a unit of survey is necessarily the first matter to be decided upon before the cadastral survey of a district is started. This involves various considerations. The unit chosen should be locally convenient, that is, any part of it should be easily accessible from any other part; it should be suitable from the point of view of area and population for administrative purposes, and above all, it should be a well-known and well-defined local unit.

Under the present rules in force it has been decided that, to avoid confusion, the revenue survey mauza shall ordinarily be adopted as the unit of survey. At

the time of the revenue survey, however, the considerations which should guide the choice of a unit of survey were not always very clearly understood, and it sometimes happened that very small areas were formed into separate mauzas for the sole reason that the proprietors of the lands were different. Under the present rules in force, therefore, the revenue survey unit is to be departed from, when it is inconveniently small (less than 100 acres), when, owing to the area having been jungle at the time of the revenue survey, it is inconveniently large, or when it is entirely surrounded by the lands of another village. In such cases the revenue survey unit is to be amalgamated with another unit or units to form a single village, or is to be split up to form a number of villages.

Since 1911 it has been ordered, at the instance of the Settlement Officer of Mymensingh, that such deviations from the revenue survey unit shall be decided on, so far as possible, before the commencement of the traverse survey, so that the area selected to form a village may be traversed and cadastrally surveyed entire on one sheet.

In the Bankura district many cases occurred in which the revenue survey unit was found to be too small to be retained as a separate village, and the annexed table will show the number of cases in which such units were amalgamated and the number of villages now existing as a result of the recent operations.

Block.	Number of villages according to the revenue survey.	Number of villages according to the present survey.	Number of revenue survey villages amalgamated.
A. Thanas Chhatna, Indpur, Khatra, Rani-badhi, Raipur, Simla-pal.	2,407	1,358 180* 1,547	1,049
B. Thanas Sultora, Me-jhia.	308	232	76
C. Thanas Gangajal-dhati, Bujora, Bankura, Onda, Taldangra.	1,896	1,111 6† 1,117	785
D. Thanas Sonamukhi, Patrasair, Indas, Kotai-pur, Sirmanipur, Joy-pur, Bishupur, Radhanagar.	1,652	951	701
Total ..	6,263	3,652 185 3,847	2,511

* 180 new villages formed in the area of 198 square miles in thanas Raipur and Rani-badhi of which no revenue survey was done.
† 6 new villages formed in Thana Taldangra out of single revenue survey villages.

From this table it will be seen that out of a total of 6,263 revenue survey villages no less than 2,611 were found to be too small to be retained as separate villages. The number of villages now existing as a result of the recent survey is 3,847, and this total includes 189 villages formed out of the area of 198 square miles in thanas Ranibandh and Raipur to which the revenue survey was not extended, and also six new villages formed in the jungly thana of Taldangra out of revenue survey villages found to be too large for administrative convenience. Care was taken to consult the interests of landlords and tenants when any change was made from the revenue survey unit, and no real objections were raised to the proposal.

Special attention was paid to the names of the villages, and care was taken to allot to each village the name by which it is locally known.

86. Traverse Survey.—The traverse survey of the first block of the district comprising thanas Chhatna, Indpur, Khatra, Ranibandh, Raipur and Simlapal was taken up according to the sanctioned programme in the cold weather of 1914-15. The field work was finished but before the computation in office could be completed the Government, with a view to effect economies necessitated by the War, directed the postponement of the work in Bankura in their letter No. 3005 of the 19th March 1915 to the Director of Land Records. The work was accordingly stopped. The traverse stations as usual were marked, some with stones and others with wooden pegs, but mostly with wooden pegs. These were made over to the custody of the panchayet and the chaukidars.

In his letter No. 2798 of the 25th September 1916, the Collector reported that the marks were in order. In March 1917 it was decided to start the work in Bankura again. The Director of Surveys, in his letter No. 1142 of the 12th March 1917, informed the Director of Land Records that no hitch was expected in the cadastral work of the following season by reason of the loss of traverse marks in Bankura. The Collector, however, on being asked to report, stated in his letter No. 264 of the 24th April 1917, that the Police officers had reported that practically all the wooden pegs had disappeared in all thanas except Chhatna, being eaten away by white ants, and that some of the stone marks

were missing. In spite of this report the Director of Surveys, in his letter No. 2867 of the 16th July 1917, stated that for a portion of the area of Block A 16" plots would be supplied by the 15th October 1917 where he was of opinion that cadastral work could be done without much difficulty being experienced on account of lost stations and that he had arranged for revisional relay where necessary in thanas Simlapal, Raipur and part of Khatra during the field season 1917-18. I was accordingly deputed to take charge as Settlement Officer in Bankura on the 5th October 1917, with orders to commence work directly after the close of the Puja vacation.

In previous settlements great difficulty had been experienced owing to missing traverse stations when it had been found necessary to postpone the cadastral survey of an area for a single season. It is difficult, therefore, to understand the optimism of the Directors of Surveys and of Land Records in view of the fact that three full years had elapsed since the completion of the traverse survey of the Bankura thanas especially when one considers the amazing thoroughness with which the white ant pursues his work of destruction in the dry Western Bengal districts. Suffice it to say that this optimism was far from being justified and that the report of the Collector did not err on the side of pessimism. A few days' inspection of the area convinced me that a complete relay was as essential in the north as in the south. In many villages all intermediate stations were missing and only the traverse trijunctions remained, in other villages so many consecutive stations were missing that plane-table survey could not be started. Only in Chhatna thana was the damage not so great, and here it was found possible to proceed with cadastral survey in the majority of the villages.

A relay is a more tedious and in some ways a more difficult business than the original traverse, and in this area the difficulties were increased owing to the undulating and jungly nature of the country. The relay continued throughout the season and was not completed until the end of March. The hearty co-operation of the Director of Surveys and the fact that he placed the whole of the staff deputed for the work of relay directly under my orders alone saved the programme of the first year from ignominious collapse. An idea of

the extent of the relay that was necessary will be evident from the fact that, while the cost of the original traverse of the block was Rs. 43,466, the relay and revision cost Rs. 28,013. It can well be imagined how utterly this failure of the traverse disorganised the work throughout the season and that the resources of the whole staff were taxed to the uttermost to effect a completion of the programme. Indeed, it was not until the end of September that field work could be completed.

But this was not its most unfortunate result. For more disastrous was the effect which it had upon the amins. For the first two months of the season they had to remain idle, nor was there any provision to give them even a subsistence allowance. Very naturally they felt themselves aggrieved, and the consequences were felt in the following year when it was found impossible to secure a sufficient number of amins, and in each *halqa* out of a full complement of twelve amins only five or six were available.

The Survey and Settlement Departments have now been combined under the control of the Director of Land Records. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in giving effect to any suggestions made by the Settlement Department with regard to the work of the Survey Department. Traverse survey in this district has not been found completely satisfactory, though there was an improvement in the last block. There were, I understand, no similar complaints in other districts, and the defects experienced in Bankura may well have been due to lack of adequate supervision, for the superior staff of the Survey Department was for a long time woefully depleted.

The principal defect experienced, and one which occasioned enormous trouble in the first three blocks, was the neglect to run the traverse near the village boundary. It often happened that the village boundary was 20 chains away from the traverse polygon and sometimes even as much as 40 chains. This defect was prejudicial not only to progress but also to accuracy. The village boundaries had to be plotted by means of clumsy triangulations or stations had to be plotted from adjacent sheets. This defect was not so apparent in the fourth block and other Settlement Officers have not, I believe, had occasion to complain on this score.

Cases were fairly frequent in which the position of traverse stations was wrongly plotted on the sheets, but the rectification of such defective plotting was not as a rule difficult.

For some unexplainable reason stations on sub-traverses were very frequently missing, and in large sheets where sub-traverses had been run to avoid the necessity for inordinately long quadrilateral lines frequently not a single station on the sub-traverse was to be found. Sub-traverses were often badly placed, being omitted from congested or jungly villages where sub-traverse was really necessary and plotted through open fields where it might well have been omitted. In this connection I may note that sub-traverses were almost invariably so plotted that the lines ran across the fields from corner to corner thus making them altogether unsuitable for use as quadrilateral lines. For this there can be no possible reason, and it would be well if strict instructions were given to traversors to plot their sub-traverses so that they can be conveniently used as quadrilateral lines.

I would further suggest that in Western Bengal districts at any rate the present practice of using bamboo pegs to mark traverse stations should be abandoned and that stones should be utilised instead. It is impossible otherwise to avoid the ravages of white ants.

87. Square traverse.—A departure was made from the ordinary system of traverse survey for an area of 198 square miles in the extreme south-west of the district in thanas Raipur and Rani-bandh. This area, which was largely covered with thick virgin forest, had been omitted from the revenue survey programme altogether partly on account of the paucity of the population and the smallness of the area under cultivation which made it doubtful whether the advantages to be expected from the survey would be commensurate with the cost incurred, partly on account of the difficulties of survey which it presented and partly, as I shrewdly suspect, on account of the fear of wild animals. In this part of the district, therefore, no villages at all existed in the statutory sense, and it was necessary at the time of the survey of this area to determine what areas should be formed so as to constitute village units. In the absence of village boundaries the ordinary

method of traverse survey was impossible and it was decided to employ what is known as the method of square traverse.

The main characteristics of the square traverse system are:—

- (1) The traverse of an area by quadrilaterals and convenient sub-traverses without reference to village boundaries.
- (2) The cadastral survey of the whole area thus traversed without reference to village boundaries.
- (3) The subsequent demarcation on the sheet by the Kanungo of village boundaries.

The idea of a square traverse was not a new one; it had been proposed by Colonel Hirst for the Purnea Settlement as long ago as 1903, but the proposal was not given effect to owing to the objections of the Settlement Officer. An experiment had, however, been made in the cold weather of 1911-12 in the Madhupur jungle in the district of Dacca, where revenue survey boundaries were quite unknown, where the population was sparse and the cultivated area scattered and scanty. A further experiment was made in the following year in the Meghna river *diara* area in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. Here the area thus traversed consisted of 44 square miles. Colonel Hirst, the Director of Surveys, and Mr. Ascoli, the Settlement Officer of Dacca, drew up a joint report on the results of these experiments, and recommended that a further experiment should be made, but that the system should not be applied to *diara* lands.

It was eventually decided by Government that the difficulty and delay involved in the reproduction of the maps between the stages of cadastral survey and *khanapuri* made it inadvisable to apply the system to normal areas. A reproduction of the maps by the vandyke process after survey was complete was regarded as a necessary accompaniment of the system to enable *khanapuri* amins to prepare the record for each village separately. In the Bankura jungle area no previous village boundaries existed and it was thought that, as the cultivated area was scanty, it would be possible to arrange for the preliminary record writing without previous reproduction of the map.

Of the area traversed under this system in Bankura the eastern portion was found to be extensively cultivated, but in the main the area consisted of thick jungle and cultivation was only to be found in the depressions. These depressions are usually long, winding and narrow. The sides of the squares, which formed the separate sheets, ran ordinarily from north to south and from east to west, but deviations were occasionally made to avoid over much cutting of thick jungle. Sub-traverses usually ran along the depressions in which the paddy-fields lay. The sides of the squares from north to south were ordinarily 80 chains in length, while the length from east to west varied from 100 to 120 chains.

In all the number of squares was 184 out of which were formed 189 villages. The amount of sub-traverse was somewhat inadequate, and this often necessitated internal triangulation, which according to the ordinary rules is prohibited. The size of the sheets too often made the drawing of quadrilaterals a difficult task. The Survey Department staff came to this area last of all for relay of the traverse, and hence the sheets were not received from Calcutta until the end of March. In order to make the completion of the first year's programme at all possible, the intermediate stage of initial recess was omitted altogether for this area and *bujharat* followed directly after *khanapuri* without any entry of areas being made in the record. The initial recess work and the entry of areas were done later at Sadar before the start of the next field season.

The instructions issued to Kanungos and Circle Officers for the work in this area were simple and were intelligently carried out. After receiving the sheet and cutting quadrilaterals, the amin proceeded at once to the internal survey of the sheet treating each side as if it were a margin. As the plotting proceeded, careful enquiries were made by Circle Officers and Kanungos with a view to ascertaining what areas could most conveniently be taken to form village units. Locally known villages already existed with more or less clearly defined boundaries. The boundaries of these villages were ascertained by enquiries from the local people and by examination of *patta*, and usually two or more were amalgamated to form a new village. So far as possible one amin

was deputed for the *khanapuri* of a complete village thus formed, and *bujharat* was, of course, always done taking the newly-formed village as the unit. The original square traverse sheets were used for every stage of field work including attestation; and glass tracings, for the purpose of showing a complete map of each village, were only prepared when the sheets had finally come to rest in the Sadar office.

The work required careful organisation, but no serious difficulty was encountered. The results can hardly be said to throw much light on the merits or demerits of the square traverse system, for owing to the smallness of the cultivated area, no difficulty was experienced in carrying out the preliminary record writing without first reproducing the maps. And it is the alleged necessity for this reproduction which forms the principal objection to the general adoption of the system.

88. **Cadastral survey.**—The ordinary scale of plane table survey in the Settlement Department is 16 inches to the mile, and almost all the survey was made on this scale. There are two municipalities in the Asansol subdivision and three in Bankura. These were surveyed on a 32 inches to the mile scale, at least in so far as the town area proper was concerned, while the very congested and difficult area of the Raniganj Municipality was surveyed on a 64 inches to a mile scale. In a few other cases also village sites, where very congested, were surveyed on a 32 inches to a mile scale.

The nature of the work varied greatly in the west and the east of the district. The Bishnupur subdivision in the east consists mainly of vast alluvial plains covered with innumerable small paddy-fields, and the area presents no peculiar difficulties to the surveyor except in the village sites which are often very congested. Very different is the Sadar subdivision in the west, which comprises nearly three-quarters of the whole area of the district. Here the country is undulating. The uplands are either waste or covered with jungle. On them no crops will grow partly owing to the nature of the soil and partly owing to the impossibility either of irrigating the land or retaining water on it.

With the exception of the rich lands at the bottom of the valleys the cultivated area has been reclaimed from the

jungle or the waste, terracing bit by bit gradually higher and higher up the slope. The result of this gradual and laborious reclamation has been that the fields are very small and the ails so irregular as to give the finished map the appearance of a zig-saw puzzle. The number of false ails is also very large. Very similar is the state of things in the Asansol subdivision, but here the fields are perhaps even smaller and the bends and curves in the field boundaries even more complicated and confusing. Hence the survey of this area is perhaps the most difficult and tedious of any in the Province. The task of choosing out convenient quadrilateral and *shikmi* lines was one which might well puzzle the most expert surveyor, and it is scarcely to be wondered at that the amins found it difficult to earn an adequate wage.

89. **Jungle areas.**—The dense jungles in the south-west of the district presented some difficulty owing to the fondness of the Santals and other aboriginal tribes for making small isolated clearings in their midst. As I remarked above sub-traverse to pick up those clearings was often insufficient and hence internal triangulation had in many cases to be resorted to, time being too short to allow of sub-traverse being run. Fear of wild animals was an additional difficulty in this area, and affected the inspecting staff as well as the amins; happily the staff suffered no casualties on this account.

90. **The survey amins.**—The amins recruited in the first year were not found to be satisfactory workers on the whole. Most of them were entirely ignorant of the proper principles to be observed in dividing the sheet into quadrilaterals or of the advantages to be derived from running *shikmi* lines close to and in the direction of the long ails. The usual procedure was to divide the sheet up into quadrilaterals of approximately the same size and to run the *shikmi* lines at right angles from quadrilateral line to quadrilateral line at intervals of from two to three chains. Such *shikmi* lines more often than not were run diagonally across the fields from corner to corner. Unfortunately many of the inspecting staff also were ignorant of the correct principles of plane table survey, and in the first field season a very large amount of inspection devolved on the Settlement Officer. Quadrilaterals and *shikmi* lines

drawn on wrong principles were ruthlessly erased and the amins made to start their survey again from the beginning.

It was my endeavour to see as many sheets as possible of each amin and to inculcate the right principles of survey from the start. The results were soon apparent. The inspecting staff loyally and intelligently carried out instructions, and before the end of the first season the work of many of the amins had improved out of all knowledge. Of the remainder a number was discharged and efforts were made to secure amins who had worked in the Tippera-Noakhali Settlement, a settlement which had had the advantage of having the choice of the best amins in the Province. A very satisfactory staff of surveyors was thus collected, and the standard of survey work in this settlement is, I believe high.

91. The check of the sheet.—The plane table survey is checked by means of *partial* lines, that is lines run from fixed point to fixed point, across a portion of the sheet in which the survey has been completed. With regard to these *partial* lines two points were insisted on in this settlement from the start. In the first place the object of a *partial* line is not to correct the amins' work but to see whether it conforms to the standard of accuracy laid down. If therefore the check line discloses errors beyond the limit allowed it is the duty of the inspecting officer to find out where the error lies, to point this out to the amin, and to rub out the incorrect survey. In the second place the value of the check lies not in its quantity but in its quality. Before a check line is run the sheet should be carefully examined, and if in any place the survey appears doubtful or difficult the check line should be run to test this portion. Again the *partial* should be well distributed, both over the sheet and in point of time. *Partial* should be run before the survey has advanced far, when the sheet is half completed, and when it is approaching completion.

These principles were instilled into the inspecting staff and as much stress was not laid on the quantity of *partial* as was perhaps the case in other settlements. At the same time the amount of *partial* run was completely adequate, averaging as it did over 3 linear miles to each square mile of survey against a prescribed minimum of 2 linear miles. And

when considering this figure it must be remembered that about one-fifth of the whole district is under jungle.

A further principle which was insisted on is that the preliminary work of cutting quadrilaterals is of the first importance. If the quadrilaterals are wrongly placed it is impossible to run convenient *shikmi* lines. The Kanungos were, therefore, instructed to go round to their amins after the sheets had been distributed and observe how the quadrilaterals were being cut, giving instructions to the amins, and, if found necessary, running a quadrilateral line themselves so as to teach the amin the principles on which these lines should be run.

Some attempt was made at the start by certain of the amins to fudge *shikmi* lines, but the system adopted in the Tippera-Noakhali Settlement was extended to this settlement also, that of marking by a *kodali* on the ground the place where the *shikmi* line crosses the field boundary. These points were offsetted when a *partial* line was run, and fudged *shikmi* lines were easily detected.

The rule that no offset should be taken at a greater distance than one chain from the line along which the amin was working was rigidly insisted on, but the extraordinary irregularity of the fields often made it desirable, in the interests of good and neat survey, that points should be picked up by running a short line connecting two *shikmi* lines. Kanungos were ordered to run a check line through all survey made by means of such a line.

92. Boundary Comparison.—The comparison of boundaries forms an important part of the work of survey. Boundaries are to be compared of adjoining villages, of adjoining blocks and of adjoining districts. It is essential that neither gap nor overlap occur between these units.

Boundary comparison consists ordinarily of four stages:—

- (1) Preliminary boundary comparison by the *halka* Kanungos.
- (2) Preliminary boundary comparison in the Drawing Office at Sadar.
- (3) Check of boundaries at attestation.
- (4) Final boundary comparison in the Drawing Office at Sadar.

The onus of the work lies on the Kanungos, whose duty it is, in the case of any discrepancy in the boundary between two villages, to go personally to the spot with both sheets, and by actual measurement to ascertain in which sheet the boundary has been correctly plotted. To avoid delay and inconvenience, it is desirable that this check should be done while the work of survey is still proceeding. As soon as the sheet is given out, therefore, the amin proceeds at once to survey round the boundary of the village, and does not start the internal survey until the boundary survey is complete. As soon as the boundary survey of adjoining villages is complete the Kanungo takes a trace of the boundary from one sheet and applies it to the other. Discrepancies of ten links or less are neglected, but in the case of any greater discrepancy the Kanungo must make a local enquiry and correct the boundary survey after actual measurement.

It was difficult to impress upon Kanungos the real importance of this work, and the tendency was to postpone the enquiry into discrepancies until the time of *bujharat*, and cases of fudging were not infrequent, that is, the Kanungo made the boundary on one sheet tally with that on the other by means of tracing without any local enquiry and without any knowledge in which sheet the boundary survey had been correctly made. The danger of fudging is that it cannot be detected at the time of Drawing Office comparison, when the only point looked to is whether the boundaries on the two sheets tally or not, that is, whether there is any gap or overlap. This danger was avoided to a great extent by a very careful scrutiny of the sheets after they had been received from the Kanungo, and the work was better done after the first year, but I never regarded it as completely satisfactory.

At the time of sending the sheets to Sadar at the close of the field season the Kanungos sent also a book containing traces of all the boundaries in their *Ralkas*. Traces were again taken in the Drawing Office, and a register prepared showing cases where any discrepancy was discovered. In such cases a trace showing the discrepancy was sent to the Attestation Officer whose duty it was personally to enquire into the matter, correct the boundary survey on both

sheets and return the trace to the Drawing Office showing the corrected boundary survey. The Drawing Office register was then completed.

A special comparison had also to be made by the Attestation Officer in cases where a road or a khal formed the boundary between two villages. He had to satisfy himself that the road or khal had been correctly shown as either entirely appertaining to one village or falling half in one village and half in the other. He had further to satisfy himself that the record of rights had been prepared in accordance with the map, and, where the road or khal fell half in each village, that the area shown in the record of rights of the half which fell in each village tallied.

After receipt of the sheets from the Attestation Officers a final boundary comparison was made in the Drawing Office, after which the boundaries were inked up in Indian ink. The traces of the boundaries prepared at the various stages were kept for reference.

The table below will show the number of discrepancies found by the Drawing Office in each block after the Kanungos' preliminary boundary comparison:—

Block.	Total number of villages.	Total number of sheets.	Badars.		Total.
			Serious.	Ordinary.	
A	1,547	2,095	75	115	190
B	840	1,536	41	39	80
C	1,117	1,693	58	111	169
D	951	1,523	72	46	118

93. Boundary disputes.—The number of disputes regarding village boundaries filed under Part V of the Survey Act was 695, a large number when compared with those filed in other settlements. One hundred and ninety-one appeals were filed and the appeals were decided by me. In 164 cases the original order was upheld on appeal, in 25 cases the order was modified, and was reversed in only two cases.

Disputes covering large areas in the Jungle Mahals of Raipur and Rani-bandh were filed, but it was held that these disputes could not be heard as village boundary disputes under the Survey Act on the ground that no villages existed in this area, no revenue survey having been done.

The Asansol subdivision furnished the most important disputes, and, proportionately, far the greatest number. In this subdivision the most important and valuable rights in the land are the subsoil rights in minerals. In an ordinary surface survey, such as is undertaken by the Settlement Department, the ascertainment and record of underground rights is impossible, and they were of necessity ignored in our proceedings.

For many years there was no clear judicial finding on the subject of subsoil rights as between the proprietor of the estate on the one side and the patnidar and other subordinate permanent tenure-holders on the other. The grave doubts felt by all persons concerned as to what the final decision would be were responsible for the reluctance shown to bring the matter to the test of the law courts. So much so indeed that in certain cases, for example, as between the Maharaja of Burdwan and the Bengal Coal Co., collateral agreements were entered into which should protect both parties no matter what the decision of the courts might be. It has now been finally decided that, as between the proprietor and the tenure-holders, the subsoil rights remain with the former, unless there has been an express transference of those rights in the lease granted to the latter. It is clear, therefore, that under the present law the rights in surface and subsoil may be and, indeed, usually are in different hands, for in the majority of villages the proprietor has made an assignment of his surface rights to patnidars, and the leases are in many cases of old standing. The position is, therefore, a complicated one.

Much of the land in the coal area is high land and almost valueless for purposes of cultivation. It is not surprising therefore that encroachments have taken place, the tenants of one patnidar encroaching upon the land of another without serious opposition. In this manner there have been frequent and sometimes considerable changes in the mauza boundaries since the time of the revenue survey. As soon as it was realised that such encroachments on the surface would affect the mauza boundaries, boundary disputes were filed under the Survey Act.

In the Asansol subdivision no less than 243 such disputes were filed, and

there were 86 appeals against the original order. The reason for the filing of this large number of disputes was that the parties were uncertain whether the changes made in the village boundaries during the operations would affect the title to underground rights. Before the preparation of the present settlement maps, all leases were drawn up with reference to the revenue survey maps which were the latest and indeed the only maps in existence. The right which a tenant acquires in the soil he acquires for his landlord as well as for himself. A lease by a proprietor carries with it, in the absence of an express stipulation to the contrary, only the right to occupy the surface. It may be supposed, therefore, that, where the tenant has only surface rights, in the event of any encroachment made by him on the lands of an adjoining landlord, he will acquire by adverse possession only a right to the surface and not to the subsoil. It will necessarily follow that, unless he has made a definite assignment of his underground rights, or unless any person has acquired by adverse possession a title to any portion of the subsoil by actual encroachment thereon, the proprietor will still possess those rights in the subsoil which his predecessor in interest held at the time of the Permanent Settlement.

Leaving aside the vexed question whether the proprietors at the time of the Permanent Settlement did in fact acquire all mineral rights in their estates or whether those rights or any of them were and remained vested in Government, it will be pertinent to consider what lands were settled with proprietors at the time of the Decennial Settlement. The question has been discussed at length in the recent appellate judgment in the case of *Raja Jyoti Pershad Sinha Deo versus the Secretary of State for India and others*. In this judgment reference is made to a letter from the Board of Revenue to the Commissioner of the Patna Division, dated the 18th August 1838, in which it was observed that the Permanent Settlement of various districts was based not on the *ruqbah* (area) of the several villages, but that each proprietor engaged for his estate in gross without any condition or even specification of the *ruqbah*. The Board observed that "the settlement was not of villages, or as it is called *mauzawari*, but of estates composed of one or more villages

called *talukwari*, and that the engagements executed by the proprietors contain no mention of villages but merely guarantee the payment of one net sum for the whole estate."

In fact the officially recognised unit of land at the time was the pargana, and even this unit is not always specified in the Permanent Settlement agreements. Thus in the *sanad* granted to the Raja of Bishnupur in 1780 A.D. it is stated that "the office of zamindar of the pargana of Bishnupur has been bestowed on the cream of his peers Chaitan Singh." While the Decennial Settlement *kabuliyat* executed by the Raja of Pachete was executed in respect of "Pargana Panchkote, etc.", no mention is made of any mauza or any pargana included in the estate for in fact no pargana Panchkote existed. What was meant was the entire estate known as Chakla Panchkote or the Panchkote Estate. It is true that villages existed as locally known units, and the names of the villages are given in the papers filed by the proprietors to show the assets of their estates, but there was no survey of those villages and no demarcation of their boundaries until the revenue survey proceedings which took place, so far as the Asansol subdivision is concerned, in 1854-55. In the absence of any other information on the subject it would be presumed that the state of things found existing at the time of the revenue survey existed also at the time of the Permanent Settlement.

I would, therefore, conclude that all leases of underground rights should be made with reference to the village boundaries as they existed at the time of the revenue survey and not as found according to present possession of the surface to-day. Such leases should, that is, refer to the Revenue Survey maps and not to the maps prepared during the present operations. If this conclusion be sound it will follow that the present settlement maps will be of little utility for the purpose of defining and limiting underground rights. On the other hand from the absence of fixed points it is a matter of great difficulty to relay the revenue survey boundaries accurately on the ground, and one of the main reasons for hurrying on the settlement proceedings was that accurate maps of this area should be available for all purposes.

For these reasons I made the proposal that the revenue survey boundaries

should be shown on the settlement maps both on the 16 inches and the 4 inches to a mile maps, and am still of opinion that the suggestion, if carried out, would make the maps very much more valuable. The suggestion did not, however, receive the approval of Government.

Boundary disputes filed in respect of the Bankura district are not of any special interest.

The table below shows the number of disputes filed in each block :—

Statement of boundary disputes.

Block.	Districts.	No. of original B. D. cases.	No. of appeals.	Result of appeal—		
				Up-held.	Modi-fied.	Re-versed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A ..	Bankura	154	61	57	2	2
B ..	Asansol	243	86	69	17	..
B ..	Bankura	56	6	4	2	..
C ..	..	171	30	26	4	..
D ..	..	71	8	8	..	..
Total	..	695	191	164	25	2

94. **Khanapuri or preliminary writing of the record.**—The standardisation of the rules and their publication in 1917 considerably simplified the work of *khanapuri*, and only on one or two minor points did special rules for the Bankura settlement have to be issued.

All statistical and other subsidiary registers were left to be prepared by the Kanungo at *bujharat*, so that the amin was able to devote his whole attention to the actual preparation of the record.

Khanapuri was on the whole simple though the state of things differed considerably in the first and subsequent blocks. The first block comprised the Jungle Mahal thanas transferred from Manbhum to Bankura in 1878, the other blocks consisted mainly of the old pargana of Bishnupur together with the subdivision of Asansol.

The parganas which formed the first block were those of Chhatna, Supur, Ambikanagar, Phulkusma, Shyamsundarpur, Raipur, Simlapal and Bhelaidiha. Each pargana forms a compact block and consists of one estate only with the exception of pargana Supur which has been divided into nine estates. In the whole area not a single revenue-free estate nor a single resumed *lakheraj*

estate exists, and, apart from the main estates, only a few recently formed ghatwali estates are to be found. The tenure system under these compact estates is extraordinarily simple. Under the proprietor there is usually a single tenure-holder for each village, the tenure-holder being the successor of the old-time Mandal. There is little sub-infeudation and the tenure-holders collect in the main direct from the raiyats.

In the Bishnupur pargana and in the Asansol subdivision the state of things is quite otherwise. Here in addition to the main zamindaris there are numerous small estates both revenue-paying and revenue-free. In the Asansol subdivision in a single village Kumardiha no less than 360 separate estates were found. Sub-infeudation is not excessive, but often the number of co-sharer landlords holding over the raiyats is large, and the fact that the combinations of co-sharers holding over different raiyats in any one tenure differ considerably added greatly to the complication of the record.

The system, evolved in the Rajshahi and Tippera settlements and enunciated in the Technical Rules, for reducing the number of *khatians* in the record-of-rights was followed in this settlement also. The principle laid down is that one *khatian* and one only is to be opened for each estate or tenancy. The only exceptions to this principle are where the co-sharers have made a partition of the bulk of their lands or where one or more co-sharers or groups of co-sharers have made assignments of the whole of their share. In these two cases separate *khatians* are opened. Separate collections of rent by the co-sharers from joint tenants, or collection of the entire rent from some individual tenants by various co-sharers are indicated by compartments within the *khatian* itself. These compartments are identified by means of alphabetical letters.

As was done in the Tippera settlement, when rent was collected by one landlord or group of landlords under several different titles, such rent was not split up, but the total rent was shown as being the amount which the tenant actually paid to one collecting agency and the amount which that one collecting agency was entitled to receive. Similarly collections of rent were only shown as separate when portions of the whole rent were actually paid separately to separate collecting agencies. The fact that co-sharers for purposes of their

own, gave separate rent receipts was not considered a sufficient reason for showing as separate portions of a rent which was actually collected by one person.

All information available was procured from the Collectorate and sent out to camps for use at all stages. The information thus collected may be divided under two heads. It consisted (1) of copies of the Collectorate general registers. A careful examination of these registers was necessary to ensure that no estate was altogether omitted from the record. (2) Copies of *thak* and ghatwali maps. These were essential to ensure that the land comprised in each estate was properly identified.

The preparation of the record from the start on the right lines is the principal problem of *khanapuri*. Kanungos were directed to make all possible enquiries in the village while survey was proceeding, so that they might be in a position before the start of *khanapuri* to prepare a complete mauzawar tenure-tree showing all landlords down to the lowest grade of those who collected rent from the raiyats. Orders were issued and rigorously insisted on that Kanungos should themselves open the *khatians* of all superior landlords. The procedure followed was this: the Kanungo examined the *thak* map and ascertained from the statement in what estates the land of the village was contained. He then ascertained from local enquiries what tenures existed under the various estates. After collecting this information he would write up all the superior *khatians* in the record leaving only the subordinate *khatians* of the cultivators to be opened by the amin. Such a procedure was especially necessary in the Bankura district where the ignorance of the people makes it difficult to obtain information regarding rights in land except after detailed enquiries.

95. Initial recess.—This is a stage of the work between the completion of preliminary record writing and the start of field *bujharat*. It consists in the extraction of the areas plot by plot, the entry of these areas in the *hasra* and the *khatians*, and a check of the correctness of the total village area.

The chief difficulty at this stage is to secure an even flow of records to each *halka* after areas have been entered so that field *bujharat* may proceed smoothly and without any check. It was to obviate this difficulty that Mr. Thompson in Noakhali and Tippera introduced the

system of having the areas entered in the record in the Kanungo's camp, and making each Kanungo responsible for that work so far as his own *halka* was concerned. The same system was tried in the Bankura settlement during the first season, but it did not prove a success and was abandoned for two reasons.

In the first place fudging of the total area of the village was found to be of frequent occurrence, with the result that the Kanungo often had immense trouble at *bujharat janch* to make his areas tally. The reason for this fudging is difficult to explain, but probably the Kanungo was not so careful in locking up the area totals received from the Area Section as the Circle Officer. A further difficulty was the impossibility of procuring locally, owing to the backward state of the district, the required number of men with sufficient knowledge of arithmetic to enable them to add up figures with any degree of speed and accuracy. Such men were more easily procurable in the comparatively central places where the Circle Officers held their camps. But even in the Circle camps the difficulty of procuring suitable men locally was experienced throughout the operations, and it was found necessary to import men from other districts. Naturally men from other districts had to be paid comparatively higher wages, and in the third year it was found necessary to raise the fees for this work considerably. From the second year onwards the work of writing up the areas was done under the direct supervision of the Circle Officers, who were personally responsible for keeping the Kanungos adequately supplied with records. The work thus supervised by the Circle Officers was found satisfactory.

In the square traverse area the initial recess work was done at headquarters after the completion of *bujharat*. For this area the Universal Theorem areas were supplied by the Survey Department sheet by sheet, and the village areas had to be separated after the sheet areas had been checked.

96. **Field bujharat.**—Field *bujharat* constitutes the last check of the map and of the record in the field, and therefore forms a very important stage in the operations. If done conscientiously it undoubtedly results in a more accurate map and simplifies the work of attestation considerably. The one fault of the

system is that it becomes almost insufferably monotonous, and a Kanungo who has worked for months under very trying conditions is apt to become careless and to overlook mistakes in the map and the record. The only solution is to stop field work in June before the Kanungos have had time to get stale. The real difficulty is that a thoroughly adequate supply of Kanungos for *bujharat* would entail an over-supply at other stages of the work.

In Bankura the number of Kanungos was inadequate each year. In order to finish the programme it was necessary to demand from each Kanungo a monthly outturn of some 4,000 plots; and the magnitude of such a task in the months of April and May with the thermometer standing at 116° in the shade must be experienced to be imagined. In Bankura, too, the extraordinary irregularity of the field boundaries coupled with the number of false ails made the check of survey a difficult task; the latter difficulty was minimised by noting against each plot during *khanapuri* the number of *kittas* which it contained. Moreover, all the statistical and other registers were prepared by the Kanungos during *bujharat*. It was considered undesirable to prepare them during *khanapuri*, partly because they would in most cases require re-writing at *bujharat*, and partly because the amins might utilise the preparation of such registers as a means of extorting money.

In the Bankura district the most important easements are, firstly the right of taking water from tanks, khals, etc., for irrigation purposes, and secondly rights in jungles. Both these rights were recorded in the "List of lands in which the public have common right". Thus against the entry of the tank or khal was recorded the number of the plot entitled to take water from it. In addition a special "Drinking water and irrigation" register was prepared showing the various sources of drinking water and irrigation, their condition, the area of land which they irrigated and whether they required re-excavation or not. It is hoped by this means that a very complete record of the sources and rights of irrigation has been prepared, which will serve as a starting point for any future schemes of improvement of irrigation in the district, such as are now being undertaken by the District Association.

97. Thak comparison.—The area taken up for survey during the first season comprised those thanas which were transformed from the Manbhum district in 1879. The *thak* survey of this area was made along with the district of Manbhum in 1862-64. These Manbhum *thak* maps were found to be so inaccurate that it was clear that they had been prepared without any proper survey. Fortunately, however, in this area all the estates are large and form compact blocks, so *thak* comparison was not essential either to identify the boundaries of estates or to guard against the omission of any estate from the record.

The *thak* survey of the remainder of the district was carried out from 1853 to 1855 under the superintendence of Mr. Reid. This survey was found to have attained a considerable degree of accuracy, and very great care was taken in comparing the *thakbast* with the cadastral maps under preparation. Traces of the *thak* maps were distributed to the amins, who made a comparison during *khanapuri* showing the *thak* chaks on the sheets by means of a dotted line and preparing a statement showing the plots actually contained in each chak. This comparison was checked by the Kanungo at *bujharat*, and if the *thak* map and the record were discrepant, an enquiry was made and the reason for the discrepancy explained in the statement. A further check was made at attestation. Owing to this careful comparison many mistakes were avoided in villages where the number of estates was large, and by this means the omission of any estate from the record was obviated.

Important also was the comparison which was made with the ghatwali survey maps prepared in 1880-1887. As these maps were of comparatively recent date, no difficulty was experienced in identifying the lands exactly and thus in ascertaining not only what area had already been resumed as ghatwali but also what land was still due for resumption.

98. Re-writing of Collectorate registers.—The Collector's general registers in the Bankura Collectorate, although re-written as recently as 1914, are far from accurate, and from the start of the settlement material necessary for re-writing them was collected. Later the forms prescribed by the Board of Revenue for this purpose were used.

Register D is written mauzawar, and even though one proprietor only exists for the whole estate, there is separate registration for each village. Where the co-sharers and their shares differed in different villages, it was necessary to find out what share each co-sharer was to be recorded as possessing in the whole estate. To ensure uniformity and to avoid duplication of work, one Circle Officer was made responsible for the standardisation of the shares of each estate, and at the start of each field season lists were sent out to all Circle Officers showing for which estates each was responsible. The other Circle Officers would then write to the officer responsible who would inform them what were the standard shares for the estate. The standardisation of shares was done in consultation with the co-sharers themselves and their statement was usually accepted.

Particular care was also taken for the identification of acquired lands and lands in the possession of local bodies. Copies of register BII, register 6 and register 6A were distributed to the Kanungos together with traces of the land acquisition plans where available.

A special register was also prepared by the Kanungo at *bujharat* under the designation of "The Public Lands Register". In this register were shown all acquired lands, all lands in the occupation of Government and all lands in the occupation of public bodies. From this register the three registers BII, 6 and 6A can easily be re-written. The registers at present kept in the Collectorate are most inaccurate.

99. Attestation.—The work of attestation in the district was not of itself complicated, but the difficulties were greatly increased by the almost inconceivable ignorance of the people and the chaotic state of the landlords' papers. In the west of the district, where the aborigines predominate, the cultivators had no knowledge of the contents of the papers which they produced and but little idea of their rights. The raiyat would come to the Attestation Officer's table and throw down a mass of papers, most of which were quite irrelevant to the matter in issue. The Attestation Officer had to read laboriously through all these papers in the hopes that some of them might throw light on the interest which he was attesting. In the east of the district, moreover where the land is mostly held in *patni*, the *patnidars* are

generally absentees and take little interest in their properties with the result that their papers are usually in a state of the greatest confusion.

It is true that *bujharat* greatly simplifies the work of attestation, but this is work nevertheless which requires care, knowledge and experience. Not only has the officer to attest the rent and the status, he is responsible also for the map and the record in its final form. All registers prepared by the Kanungo at *bujharat* have to be checked and some times re-written. Village boundaries have again to be compared and permanent marks checked.

By far the most numerous claims which the Attestation Officers had to decide were claims to hold land at fixed rent and claims to hold land free of rent.

In a district like Bankura the presumption of fixity of rent under section 50 (2) of the Bengal Tenancy Act hits the landlord hard and somewhat unfairly. In the first place rentals are almost universally lump rentals and not based on rates, and few landlords have ever made any enhancement of rent. In the second place, owing to the confused state of the landlords' papers, they are seldom able to rebut the presumption once it has been raised. The result is that those landlords who have obeyed the provisions of the law and granted regular annual rent receipts find themselves the victims of the presumption, while those landlords who have neglected to grant regular rent receipts are protected by their own neglect or their own deliberate disobedience of the law. The provisions of the law are imperative. If the tenant can produce proof of payment of rent unchanged for 20 years and the landlord fails to find any rebutting evidence the Attestation Officer must perforce record the tenancy as *mokrari*. In this district a very large proportion of the claims so advanced were allowed with the result that a considerable number of raiyats were given a *mokrari* status. This is a result perhaps not altogether desirable for it not only tends to accentuate the difference, already very great between cash and produce rents, but also makes the landlords more desirous of introducing produce rents where they can.

100. Mokrari disputes in Raipur pargana.—Raipur pargana in the south-west of the district was responsible for

a crop of interesting and difficult disputes which perhaps warrant a somewhat detailed consideration.

The zamindari right in the pargana had lately been purchased by Babu Chandra Sekhar Sircar, a leading pleader of Bhagalpur, who, in his anxiety to make his speculation financially remunerative, impugned the validity of almost every *mokarari* lease which the tenants produced. Raipur being a Jungle Mahal was subject to the provisions of Regulation X of 1800 according to which the succession to the estate is governed by primogeniture. The founder of the Raipur family was one Fatteh Singh, a scion of the Bishnupur Raj family, and from his time the estate had descended in an unbroken line from father to son. In the middle of the nineteenth century the Raja, Harihar Singh, died leaving three sons, Indra, Lal and Mohar Singh. Indra, the eldest succeeded but died young in the year 1262 B.S., leaving two widows, Ujjal Kumari and Nilkumari. On Indra's death Lal Singh claimed the right of succession, but it was held that the Ranis were entitled to the estate during their lifetime. Ujjal Kumari died in 1274 B.S. and the whole estate then vested in Nilkumari who lived until the 16th Chaitra 1311 (29th March 1905). Lal Singh and Mohar Singh both predeceased her leaving each a son Balabhadra and Radhasyam, respectively.

Mohar Singh lived in the same house with Nilkumari, whose sister he had married, and they lived with the utmost prodigality. As a result Nilkumari was obliged to lease the whole estate in *ijara* to Messrs. Gisborne & Co. on 24th Agrahayan 1282 B.S. (1875 A.D.) for 34 years, that is till 1316 B.S., keeping only for her maintenance some jungle lands and some lands let out on produce rent. On 22nd April 1885 Nilkumari mortgaged the whole estate to one Gorachand Pal of Dhabani. The latter brought a suit and secured a decree, as a result of which the whole estate was put up to auction and purchased by Ananta Ram Rathi, Sukdeb Rathi and Chintarani Datta on the 20th January 1891.

Balabhadra Singh, the son of Lal Singh, who had become heir to the estate on the death of his father, mortgaged his rights, present and prospective, which he described as a vested interest, to certain Pals on the 22nd November 1891 and on the 23rd June

1904. On Nilkumari's death on the 29th March 1905 the whole estate vested in Balabhadra, but the Rathis and the Dattas, who had purchased the estate in execution of the mortgage decree of 1891, contested his right. Eventually the matter was settled by compromise in 1906, and Balabhadra was declared the proprietor of the estate.

In 1909 the Pals, to whom Balabhadra had mortgaged his interest, brought a suit. The suit was compromised on the plaintiffs' terms. Previous mortgagees had been made defendants to the suit but they were not made parties to the compromise. This suit was decreed on the 1st May 1910 in the terms of the compromise according to which the zamindari was made liable for the decretal debt and the mortgagees were at liberty to realise the decretal debt by sale of the property. On the 1st August 1911 the mortgagees had the decree made absolute, but Balabhadra, having brought a suit to set aside the compromise decree, had the execution case struck off. On the 6th June 1912 the matter was again compromised and the mortgage decree was again put into execution and the zamindari sold by auction and purchased on the 6th May 1913 by Chandra Sekhar Sircar in the name of his wife Sarat Kumari Dasi. Balabhadra again applied to have the sale set aside but the application was rejected on the 29th January 1914 and possession was delivered to Sarat Kamini Dasi on the 9th February 1914.

At the time of attestation a large number of tenants of the estate claimed to be recorded as *mokarari* on the strength of registered leases which they produced before the Attestation Officer. The validity of all these leases was contested by the zamindar. The *mokarari* leases produced by the tenants may be divided into five classes:—

- (1) Leases granted by Indra Singh. There could be no doubt about the validity of those provided they were genuine. The zamindar stigmatised these leases as forgeries.
- (2) Leases granted by Ujjal Kumari and Nilkumari. These the zamindar disputed on the ground that Hindu widows having only a life interest in the property could not create any permanent *mokarari* lease.

- (3) Leases granted by the Rathis and Dattas. These were assailed on the ground that the grantors could have no greater rights than Nilkumari whose successors in interest they had been.
- (4) Leases granted by Messrs. Gisborne & Co. These were disputed on the ground that the Company being merely an *ijaradar* had no right to create any permanent lease.
- (5) Leases granted by Balabhadra Singh. It was objected that, although his title in the estate was absolute, since he had mortgaged his vested interest in the property, he had no right to create any *mokarari* lease, and the doctrine of *lis pendens* (section 52 of the Transfer of Property Act) would apply in the case of any permanent lease created during the pendency of the mortgage suit.

On behalf of the tenants it was argued that a Revenue Court had no jurisdiction to enter into the question of the validity or otherwise of the leases, but that it must record the facts as it found them. It was further argued that the zamindari claim was barred by limitation, that the leases granted by the widows were *prima facie* not void but only voidable, and that in the present case they were justified on the grounds of legal necessity and prudent management. Moreover, it was urged that even those leases which were otherwise void had been ratified by Balabhadra, some in the ordinary course of dealing, some by the grant of confirmatory leases, and that in some cases they had actually been ratified by the present zamindar in that he had accepted rent from the tenants.

Orders were finally passed that the various classes of leases should be dealt with as follows:—

- (1) The question whether the leases alleged to have been granted by Indra Singh were forgeries or not was a question of fact which must be decided in each case.
- (2) The leases granted by the widows were *prima facie* not void and were voidable only if it could be shown that legal necessity or prudent management had not rendered their execution necessary. As it was impossible to enter into complicated question

of this nature during the summary procedure of attestation, the leases were to be accepted and the lease-holders recorded as *mokarari* for the present.

- (3) The leases granted by the Rathis and Dattas were held to be invalid as these persons had had no possession in the estate.
- (4) Leases granted by Messrs. Gisborne & Co. were held to be void as being operative only during the term of the *ijara* unless a confirmatory lease had been granted by Balabhadra previous to the institution of the mortgage suits.
- (5) The question of the validity or otherwise of the leases granted by Balabhadra himself was a more complicated one.

In the first place it had been held (I.L.R. XXIX Cal. page 355 following a Privy Council decision quoted in I.L.R. XXI All. page 71) that the interest of a Hindu reversioner expectant on the death of a Hindu female cannot be validly mortgaged by the reversioner, and the mortgage was therefore invalid *ab initio*. On the other hand the decree passed in suit No. 90 of 1909 on the petition of compromise was substantially a mortgage decree, and hence it was held that the doctrine of *lis pendens* would apply. It was decided, therefore, that leases made or confirmed by Balabhadra after the death of the Rani and before the institution of the suit were to be regarded as valid, those granted or confirmed after the institution of the suit were to be regarded as invalid.

As a result these orders 1,061 interests were recorded as non-*mokarari* and 418 as *mokarari*.

The death of Chandra Sekhar Sircar and his wife from influenza in 1919 prevented these interesting points from being brought to the test of decision in suits under section 106 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, for his sons and heirs, who quarrelled among themselves, compromised all the cases with the tenants accepting a *salami* equal to one year's rent from the latter as a condition of acknowledging their *mokarari* status.

101. **Rent-free claims.**—Claims to hold the land free of rent were also very numerous especially in the east of the

district and in the Asansol subdivision. I have remarked in a previous chapter on the excessive number of gifts of land to Brahmans to hold free of rent granted by the Rajas of Bishnupur, and also the ease with which *sanads* purporting to grant a rent-free title were forged. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that such claims are numerous. These claims were often difficult of decision. Usually no *sanad* or grant was produced but only a sale-deed in which the tenancy was described as *niskar*. Ordinarily the claim was allowed if the claimant was able to prove that he and his predecessors in interest had held the land as rent-free and without payment of rent for a number of years, unless rebutting evidence could be produced by the landlord.

The table below shows the number of disputes decided at attestation year by year :—

Statement of attestation disputes.

Block.	District.	Numbers of attestation disputes.		Total.
		Fixed rent.	Rent-free and others.	
1	2	3	4	5
A ..	Bankura ..	615	914	1,529
B ..	Asansol ..	5,822	11,247	17,069
B ..	Bankura ..	1,793	178	1,971
C ..	" ..	8,163	11,995	20,158
D ..	" ..	12,455	9,974	22,429
Total ..	....	28,848	34,308	63,156

102. **Status.**—Status is not a burning question in this district, and the decision of the Attestation Officer as to whether a particular person was a proprietor, tenure-holder, raiyat or under-raiyat was seldom contested. In no part of the district have the people any very clear idea of the difference between tenure-holder, raiyat and under-raiyat. This is especially the case in the western thanas. When leases are granted it is seldom specified whether the grantee is a tenure-holder or a raiyat; what is noted is whether the lease is *mokarari* or non-*mokarari*. *Mokarari* leases are granted indifferently by tenure-holders, raiyats and under-raiyats, and seldom is any attempt made to eject an under-raiyat. The case of persons holding on a rental of half the produce (*bhag*) is different. They

are regarded as tenants-at-will and are frequently, often yearly, ejected. The consequence has been that the status as entered in our records does not always conform with local ideas or local customs, nevertheless objection was seldom taken to such entry.

The consideration that under-raiyats paying cash rents were ordinarily as permanent as raiyats, and indeed often held under *mokarari* leases led some of the Attestation Officers to record them wholesale as having occupancy rights by custom. There is much to be said for this view but it is doubtful whether such a record would be upheld in the courts or would prove of any protection to the under-raiyats so recorded. To support the entry in the record I ordered that in all such cases a proceeding was to be drawn up, evidence taken and the Attestation Officer's conclusions given. Unfortunately, the officers' conclusions are not always very convincing. It may, however, be asserted that under-raiyats who have reclaimed lands from the jungles have by local custom an occupancy right to those lands. It is often found also that under-raiyats have an occupancy right in their homestead lands.

103. Rights of occupancy.—Except in the case of tenants paying a share of the produce as rent (*bhagidars*) rights of occupancy were seldom disputed. As I have noted above *bhagidars* in this district are ordinarily regarded as tenants-at-will, while cash-paying tenants, be they raiyats or under-raiyats, are considered to be permanent and not liable to ejection except by suit for arrears of rent.

104. Transfer of occupancy rights.—Occupancy rights are freely transferred as indeed are the rights of under-raiyats, and there is no real necessity in this district for regularising transfer by legislation. Indeed the proposal made by the recent Bengal Tenancy Act Amendment Committee to make occupancy rights transferable on payment of *salami* equal to one-quarter of the sale price would press hardly on the tenants. *Salami* is indeed sometimes taken for the privilege of mutation of the transferee's name in the landlord's papers, but seldom is it considered worth while to incur the trouble and expense required to secure this doubtful advantage. After transfer the landlord grants a *marfat* rent receipt to the transferee, that is a rent receipt showing that the rent is paid by the transferee on behalf of the original tenant

whose name is entered in the landlord's books. Should the holding again be transferred to a third person the landlord grants a *marfat* rent receipt with perfect equanimity to the new purchaser. Thus it often happens that the tenant registered in the landlord's papers is many degrees removed from the actual holder and has indeed for many years "ceased from troubling". It is true that on transfer in this district occupancy rights are often described in the sale-deed as *mokarari*, but this description is given not with any idea of making the transfer more simple, but in the hope that the rent of the holding may in time be regarded as fixed.

105. Illegal enhancements of rent.—Very few cases of illegal enhancement of rent came to light during attestation; indeed, as I have remarked above, a peculiarity of this district is that no enhancement of rents ordinarily has been made at all. In the Asansol subdivision where the landlords are far more progressive the case is different. Here the number of disputes regarding rent was large. Where illegal enhancement was alleged the onus lay on the landlord to show that the increase of rent was due to an increase in area. Where, however, the illegal enhancement was such that the resultant rent was not excessive and where it appeared probable that the landlord would get a similar enhancement on filing an application under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act efforts were made to effect a compromise under section 109C of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and in seven cases affecting over 600 interests these efforts were successful. Illegal enhancements were found on a large scale in Lot Morlu belonging to the Bengal Coal Company and in the villages of the Searsole estate. These enhancements were cut down and the legal rent only attested. In the case of the Searsole estate action was difficult as the tenants, out of fear of the landlord, refused to come forward with proofs of the enhancement.

106. Draft publication and objections under section 103 A, Bengal Tenancy Act.—Records of all villages were draft published for one month, and the time was extended in the case of large villages to two months or sometimes even more. During this period the parties could file objections to any entry in the record. Forms on which the objections were to be written were supplied *gratis* to the parties and they were allowed to take such pencil notes from the record as they

wished. A mohurir was present while such notes were being taken, and he was instructed to give such help to the more ignorant and illiterate persons as might be necessary.

The number of objections filed was 50,652, a very large number, but for the most part the objections were the disputes filed at *khanapuri* and at attestation again resuscitated. The very great majority of these were concerned with *mokarari* and *niskar* claims, and the schedules prepared by the Attestation Officers proved a great saving of time and trouble in the decision of these objections. Out of all the objections filed 13,948 were allowed and 36,704 disallowed. This was to be expected seeing that the matter for decision had already been carefully considered and decided by the Attestation Officer.

The following table shows the number of cases filed year by year and the results of the decisions :—

Statement of objection cases.

Block.	Result.			
	Number of objection.	Allowed.	Dis-allowed.	No. per square mile.
1	2	3	4	5
A	5,512	1,870	3,642	6
B	24,089	5,814	18,275	30
C	7,898	2,370	5,528	10
D	13,153	3,894	9,259	19
Total ..	50,652	13,948	36,704	

Commutation Cases under section 40 of the Bengal Tenancy Act were ordinarily decided by the Objection Officer. Considering the prevalence of produce rents the number of applications filed was small.

The table below shows the numbers filed and disposed of in each block :—

Block.	Number of cases.	Allowed.	Dis-allowed.	Pending.
A	103	78	25	.
B	21	5	16	..
C	234	81	149	55
D	119	37	17	65
Total ..	477	151	206	120

The reason for the large number of cases filed and disallowed in "C"

block, which comprises the centre of the district was that many of the applicants were found to be under-riayats when the applications came up for hearing.

107. **Diara and jamabandi.**—None of the rivers in the district are navigable, and in view of the decision of the Calcutta High Court reported in 24 C. W. N., page 809, in the case *Prafulla Nath Tagore versus Secretary of State* against which the Board did not advise an appeal, orders were at first received that no steps were to be taken to assess to revenue lands newly formed in the beds of these rivers. Subsequently, however, the judgment of their Lordships of the Privy Council in Appeals Nos. 187 and 188 of 1919 in what are generally known as the Damodar and Darksvar *Diara* Appeal cases explained once for all the principles of law relating to lands newly formed in the beds of non-navigable rivers. Such lands, though the property in these may rest with the proprietor of the adjoining estate, are to be regarded as unsettled and therefore liable to settlement and assessment to land revenue. Orders were, therefore, passed that accretions in the beds of these non-navigable rivers were to be resumed and settled. Accordingly *diara* resumption maps were prepared for the four principal rivers within the district—the Damodar, the Darksvar, the Bodai and the Kasai.

Diara proceedings for the whole Damodar river in so far as it flows through the Bankura district had already been undertaken and completed by Babu Prasanna Kumar Benarji, Deputy Collector, in 1908. During the settlement operations a survey of both banks of the river was made only up to the eastern limit of the Asansol subdivision. In this portion of the river no new accretion was found worthy of resumption. For the eastern portion of the river *diara* proceedings were left for the district settlement of Burdwan when the northern bank of the river should have been surveyed.

In the river Kasai two *diara* cases were started, but were subsequently struck off as the claim of Government appeared doubtful.

On the river Bodai 6 and on the river Darksvar 15 new estates were created as a result of the *diara* proceedings. In most of these cases the proprietor of the adjoining estate was the

Maharaja of Burdwan to whom settlement of the new estates was offered. In all cases the Maharaja refused to take settlement, and settlement was accordingly made with outsiders on the basis of the payment of a revenue equal to 80 per cent. of the assets, 5 per cent. of the revenue thus calculated being paid to the Maharaja as *malikana*. The net annual revenue which has accrued to Government as a result of these *diara* proceedings is Rs. 2,326-3-4, and the total area resumed is 2,550·05 acres. Details of the newly created estates are given in Appendix VIII to this report.

During the pendency of the operations only 34 estates were due for resettlement. Of these ten Government estates and nine temporarily-settled estates were resettled under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The remainder being sandy *chars*, growing grass and reeds, were settled under Regulation VII of 1822.

Of the ten Government estates settled under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act, eight consist of strips of land bordering the Raniganj-Midnapore road. Certain tenants on these lands had acquired occupancy rights, and settlement of their lands was made with them direct.

All the temporarily-settled estates resettled consist of *char* lands formed in the beds of rivers. It will be seen that in the case of these estates the newly settled revenue is often less than that settled at the previous settlement. This decrease is due to the fact that, during the floods of 1922, many of the *char* lands became wholly or partially covered with sand and consequently greatly decreased in value.

108. Case work.—Case work was on the whole easy.

Applications for enhancement of rent came in most cases under the provisions of section 30 (b), Bengal Tenancy Act. Throughout the district rentals are usually lump rentals and settlements are not made on the basis of area but for a complete holding within certain boundaries. Consequently landlords were seldom able to prove their claim to enhancement of rent on the ground of increase in area under section 52, Bengal Tenancy Act. An exception must be made in the case of a few big

landlords whose properties had previously been measured and who had in their possession the maps or *chittas* of the previous measurement. Indeed the 16" maps of the properties of the Maharaja of Kasimbazar and of the Bengal Coal Co. were found to be so unusually accurate that, in their case, no deduction had to be made for errors in survey. In the case of previous surveys of the properties of other landlords a deduction of from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. was made to compensate for errors in survey.

In granting enhancements under the provisions of section 30 (b), Bengal Tenancy Act, usually the two decennial periods immediately preceding the date of the institution of the cases were taken for purposes of comparison, and this comparison fixed the maximum enhancement allowable at as. 2-11 in the case of Asansol and at as. 3-3 in the case of Bankura. The enhancement actually allowed varied from as. 1 to as. 2-6 per rupee.

Where applications for enhancement of the rent of tenures were made, landlords did not attempt to bring evidence to prove any customary rate, and indeed no customary rate of rent for tenures exists in the district. The landlords were content to obtain their share of the assets as rent and to leave the balance to the tenure-holders as profits and collection charges. In connection with the enhancement of the rents of tenure-holders under section 7, Bengal Tenancy Act, the question arose as to whether the rent of a tenure bearing a mixed rent, partly produce and partly cash, could be enhanced under this section. The matter was referred to the Legal Remembrancer, who held that there was no bar in law to the application for enhancement of such rents, as, unlike section 30, there is no specific mention in section 7 of money rents. Applications for enhancement of rent of tenures held at mixed rents were consequently allowed.

In other cases under section 105 the applicants applied for a fair rent to be fixed, alleging that the actual rent payable to them was a rent higher than that shown in the record of rights. The Revenue Officer was of opinion that such an issue could not be heard under section 105 A (f) and held that a suit under section 106 should first have been

filed for the correction of the rent recorded. The Special Judge, on the other hand, held that the question whether the rent had been rightly recorded or not was an issue which could be heard under section 105 A (f).

Another case occurred in which the Special Judge disagreed with the finding of the Revenue Officer. In this case at the time of the final publication of the record two landlords had held jointly over the tenants and had collected rent from them. Subsequent to final publication one of these landlords had bought out the other and alone applied to have a fair rent fixed for the holdings under him. The Revenue Officer held that the application was out of order and that the applicant should have applied first to have the record corrected. The District Judge, on the other hand, held that as the record was admittedly correct at the time of final publication the applicant was entitled to apply for the fixing of a fair rent and, being at the time of his application the sole landlord, his application was in order and there was no necessity to have the record corrected.

The annexed statement shows that the proportion of cases withdrawn and dismissed without trial was very large. This was due mainly to technical defects and flaws in the plaints and to some extent to non-appearance. The number of cases filed by big landlords, more especially by the colliery companies in Asansol, was very great, and the plaints were often drawn up with insufficient care. In many cases plaints and schedules were drawn up without sufficient examination of the finally published records. In many cases again necessary parties were omitted and persons already deceased were made parties to the suits and applications. In a great number of these cases the defects were such that they could not be remedied by amendment without altering the nature of the case.

The statement also shows that the number of cases tried *ex-parte* was large. It must not be inferred from this that the defendants failed to put in an appearance. In the majority of cases the tenants did appear and filed written statements, but when they found that the landlords based their claim to enhancement mainly under section 30 (b) and that the Revenue Officer allowed enhancement after taking into consideration the rents recorded and the

rents obtaining in neighbouring villages where the conditions were similar, they merely watched the cases from a distance and allowed them to be decided *ex parte*.

The number of cases compromised was also very large. In cases of compromise the Revenue Officer insisted on the personal appearance of at least one defendant representing each *khatian* to give assent to the terms of the compromise. In some cases landlords compromised with the tenants allowing them *mokarari* status on their existing rents on condition of receiving a substantial *salami*.

In 105 proceedings costs were not generally allowed, but where reasonable terms of compromise were rejected by the tenants and the proceedings were unnecessarily prolonged owing to the attitude which they adopted, costs were given against them.

In the case of raiyati holdings the total enhancement granted amounted to 26 per cent. over the recorded rents. This increase includes also enhancement allowed on account of increase in area.

In the case of tenures the increase granted amounted to 22 per cent. over the recorded rentals.

Cases filed under section 106 did not present features of any peculiar importance.

In the Bankura district the plaintiffs were generally petty landlords, and it was not found possible to group together a large number of tenancies for joint trial. Taking this fact into consideration the progress in the disposal of cases was satisfactory. But the work suffered considerably, particularly at Asansol, from the constant transfer of officers, the posting of officers to case work camps for short periods, and the shutting down of camps pending the arrival of new officers. This constant transfer of officers was not only irritating to the parties and expensive to the settlement but had a lamentable effect on the case work of the area as a whole. The knowledge that they were only posted temporarily had the effect of inclining some of the officers to postpone and leave for their successors the hearing of the more difficult cases or such cases as contained a small number of tenancies and were likely to militate against a good outturn. The change in

staff, moreover, made it difficult to fix the responsibility when bad *sherista* work was later detected.

A statement showing the number of cases instituted and how they were disposed of is given below—

	Cases instituted.		Disposed of.		Analysis of disposal.						Remarks.
	No. of cases.	Tenan- cies.	No. of cases.	Tenan- cies.	With- drawn.	Comprom- ised.	<i>Ex parte.</i>	Con- tested.	Others.	Total.	
Under section 105.											
Burdwan	19,016	25,187	18,952	25,123	7,937	10,697	3,382	2,973	134	25,123	Sixty-four cases are held up as the connected 3 section 106 cases are pending in the Civil Court where they were transferred. Two new cases are pending here.
Bankura	16,765	24,273	16,763	24,271	6,068	7,224	6,864	3,915	200	24,271	
Total	35,781	49,460	35,715	49,394	14,005	17,921	10,246	6,888	334	49,394	
Under section 106.											
Burdwan	1,380	..	1,377	..	811	165	108	293	..	1,377	The pending 3 cases have been transferred to Civil Court.
Bankura	604	..	604	..	309	111	86	98	..	604	
Total	1,984	..	1,981	..	1,120	276	194	391	..	1,981	

Statement of Appeal Cases under sections 105 and 106, Bengal Tenancy Act.

Name of district.	Section 105 cases.							Section 106 cases.					
	No. of appeals filed.	No. pending for hearing.	Result of appeal.				No. of appeals filed.	No. pending	Result of appeal.				
			Upheld.	Modified.	Reversed.	Remanded.			Upheld.	Modified.	Reversed.	Remanded.	
Bankura	244	63	96	7	25	53	39	3	13	2	16	5	
Burdwan	244	148	53	33	3	7	50	39	9	1	1	..	
Total	488	211	149	40	28	60	89	42	22	3	17	5	

Final Office Work.

109. **Final janch.**—Final *janch* is the last scrutiny of the draft record after the completion of objections and before printing. In the first season the work was done at headquarters during recess by a special staff under the supervision of an Assistant Settlement Officer assisted by Kanungos. The number of Kanungos varied according to requirements, and each Kanungo was in charge of a squad of five mohurirs. For the other three blocks the work was done in selected centres in the mufassal so as to give greater facility for the attendance of parties and also for facility of work. The Objection Officer worked in the same camp and was able to regulate his work in the interests of the final *janch* staff. A village record was taken up for final *janch* immediately after the disposal of all objections.

There was a Revenue Officer in charge of each camp and under him Kanungos, each in charge of a squad of mohurirs. The Revenue Officers and Kanungos checked the record against the orders in disputes and objections, they examined the sheets to see that there were no errors in the boundaries, they summoned parties to supply such information as might be necessary for the correction of mistakes, closely supervised the work of the mohurirs and finally passed the village records when the check of the mohurirs was complete. The maps were checked by a badar amin under the supervision of a Kanungo. In addition to the check of the map and record alphabetical lists were prepared of the names of those persons who were entitled to free copies of the vandyked maps during recovery of costs along with the final *khatians*. It was always our endeavour to finish work in final *janch* camps in time to

release Revenue Officers, Kanungos and Mohurirs for field work after the Durga Puja holidays.

The total number of *khatians* checked at this stage was 962,085 and in all 100,908 mistakes were detected. Of these only 3,500 were classified as serious.

The cost of this branch of the work amounted to Rs. 86,171. In this is included also the cost of the preparation of lists in the Vandyke Section. If Rs. 10,000 is deducted for the cost of this section, the cost for each mistake detected at final *ianch* works out at 11 annas 11 pies. The cost would appear abnormally high, but it is due mainly to the employment of Kanungos in this work during recess. The salary of the Kanungos has to be paid in any case and it is necessary to find work for them during recess, so that the excessive cost of this branch is more apparent than real.

110. Printing.—The idea of printing the record of rights by means of hand presses originated with the late Major Jack, and with the exception of those of Chittagong and Bakarganj the records of all major settlements of the Province have been printed. The system has many obvious advantages. It enables a large number of exactly similar copies to be produced, it makes any unauthorised alterations or interpolations in the record difficult if not impossible, it makes available a convenient record easy to handle and above all it is greatly appreciated by the people for whose benefit it is produced. The sole disadvantage is the possibility of errors creeping into the printed copy of a record, to keep which as nearly as possible flawless so much care, trouble and money has been expended.

During the long period which had elapsed since the first introduction of the system of printing into the Settlement Department a very expert staff had been trained. For this settlement the compositors were recruited from the Midnapore, Mymensingh and Tippera settlements and presented a very high level of efficiency. The problem therefore was not, as was the case in some settlements, to secure a sufficient outturn of work from the press, but to keep the press adequately supplied with records and to secure a satisfactory check which should, so far as possible, prevent errors from creeping into the printed record.

The work of printing was started in November 1919. At the start 12 presses were in commission, but so speedily was the work done that it was found necessary to reduce the number of presses in March 1921 to 11. Even after this reduction it was impossible to make the supply of records equal to the demand of the press, and it was found necessary to close the press down altogether for the months of May, June and July 1921 and to send the compositors away on leave. Work was resumed towards the end of July 1921 with 7 presses, and the number was again increased to 11 in August. One press was set aside exclusively for the printing of plot indices and of miscellaneous *khatians* and another for the printing of local forms not obtainable from the Forms Department.

111. Organisation of press staff and work.—For each press there was a staff consisting of one Peshkar, six compositors, one pressman and one proof man, while one inkboy was provided for two presses. So large was the outturn that the Peshkars were unable to cope with the work and in addition an Assistant Peshkar was allotted to each press from August 1921.

The system of check was as follows. The Peshkars distributed the records to the compositors, checked and corrected the original press proof after comparison with the record, and again checked the final proof against the record. On completion of the printed record it was made over to the Checking Branch, where it was checked by two checkers one of whom read out the original record while the other compared the printed copies. Ten per cent. of all the records were again checked by a head checker.

112. Preparation of a plot index from the printed record.—The difficulty of securing an effectual check of the printed record lies in the fact that the record consists of a number of unconnected names and words, so that to keep the attention fixed for a long period is no easy matter. Thus even the system of check described above was found insufficient and a number of gross errors came to light at the time of the distribution of the final *khatians* when the costs of the settlement were being recovered.

It was decided, therefore, to make a new departure altogether and to introduce a system of totalling the plot areas and checking the totals against the total

area of the village after printing was complete. By this means many gross errors were eliminated, such as the omission of a plot altogether or the printing of the wrong plots on the reverse of any *khatian*. The number of errors detected in the records of the first two blocks was considerable, in the last two blocks not so numerous as the organisation and supervision of the press had improved.

This branch of work was abolished altogether under orders of the Director of Land Records after I had relinquished charge of the settlement and before the work of the last block had been completed. The reason given for the abolition of this branch was that the number of mistakes detected did not justify its retention. I am myself convinced of the usefulness of the system as tending to reduce errors in the printed record to a minimum and incidentally to induce extra care in all branches of the work of printing and check. For all errors detected in this branch all persons responsible are fined.

113. Supervision.—At the start the press was in charge of a Superintendent, a ministerial officer, who worked under the general supervision of the Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer. This was not found satisfactory. The compositors are a most difficult body of men to control. They are recruited almost exclusively from among the Eastern Bengal *bhadralog*, and, being almost entirely without education, are extremely touchy and averse to discipline. To control them properly, therefore, both firmness and tact are required and an officer of ministerial rank has not enough authority or prestige for efficient control.

I had drawn up detailed rules for the working of the press previous to my departure on leave in May 1920. These rules which were drafted in the interests of accuracy tended somewhat to restrict the outturn of the compositors. I found on my return from leave that the Superintendent had not been strong enough to insist on the observance of the rules, and my insistence on their strict observance caused an amount of grumbling among the staff, who demanded higher fees and a modification of certain of the rules, which found final expression in a general strike on the 10th September 1921. Fortunately I was able to contemplate with equanimity the closing down of the press for a short period, and equally fortunately the compositors

found it impossible to secure work elsewhere. As a result I was able to insist on complete submission as a condition of return to work, and the strike ended on the 3rd October 1921.

After the return of the compositors to work the Superintendent was discharged and the Press staff placed under the charge of a Revenue Officer. I also codified the rules afresh and revised the scale of fees. The rate was fixed at annas 12 and pies 6 per 100 lines and rewards were granted for an outturn of over a certain minimum. Henceforward the work proceeded smoothly in spite of a certain amount of grumbling and occasional complaints against the Revenue Officer in charge. As a result of my experience I am convinced of the necessity of placing in charge of the press an officer not below the rank of a Kanungo.

It was found impossible in this settlement to fix the fees of the compositors according to the number of *khatians* printed owing to the large average of plots contained in a *khatian*. The rate was accordingly fixed according to the number of lines printed. The average earnings of the compositors amounted to about Rs. 30 per month, and the highest individual monthly earning was Rs. 92.

The strike of the compositors had a bad effect on the rest of the press staff. The press menials, the pressmen and inkboys were local men from the vicinity of the town. They gave continued trouble owing to bad attendance, and it was found necessary to inflict fines. Eventually the menial staff went on strike from the 10th December 1921 and demanded an increase of wages. The work of the press was stopped till the 23rd December, when it was again resumed, menials being imported from Midnapore and elsewhere. None of those who went on strike were re-employed, but it was found necessary to raise the pay of the menials. The pay of the pressmen was raised from Rs. 9 and Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 and later to Rs. 15; the pay of proofmen and inkboys from Rs. 6 and Rs. 8 to Rs. 10.

The outturn of work was always good owing to the sufficient supply of trained compositors. At the start the outturn of each press averaged monthly 2,000 interests; at the close the monthly average was 2,833 interests. The highest monthly outturn for any one press was 3,572 interests.

The average cost of printing each *khatian* worked out at 3 annas. To give some idea of the amount of material used in the press, it may be of interest to state that 29,938 pounds of type and 6,566 reams of paper were used in the printing of 962,085 interests.

When printing was first started in this settlement, in accordance with the rules twelve copies of each interest were printed. After three months of work, however, under Government Order No. 1017, of the 31st January 1920, the number was reduced to ten. One copy, printed on special paper, and known as the Public copy was handed over to the Collector for keeping under double lock. One copy was printed for the Collector's use, one for that of the Subdivisional Officers and one for that of the Munsifs: These four copies were all bound village by village. Of the remaining six copies two were distributed at the time of recovery of costs, one to the landlord and the other to the tenant; the other four copies were available for sale to the general public. In the last two blocks of the settlement, the number of sale copies was reduced to three as sales were found to be very few indeed. In villages the property of co-sharer landlords who collected their rent separately, the number of copies printed was larger. For each such landlord was entitled to receive a copy of his own and of his tenants' *khatians*.

114. Checking branch.—The mistakes detected by the checking branch were noted in a list and classified as very serious, serious and slight. Peshkars and compositors were fined for serious and very serious mistakes, but no fine was exacted for slight mistakes. Where a very serious mistake occurred the whole *khatian* was reprinted, in other cases the mistakes were blocked out and the corrections printed above by means of a small hand-press. In the final copy of the record a list of authorised corrections is given under the signature of a Revenue Officer. In all 89,546 mistakes of all kinds were detected in 962,085 *khatians*. This includes also reprints necessary owing to illegibility. The percentage of mistakes found was considerably less in the last two blocks than in the first. Besides printing mistakes, mistakes of the record were also detected during check and in the press, and a reward was given for such mistakes detected. At the start the checkers were paid partly by a fixed

pay and partly by a bonus if they exceeded the standard outturn. The result was that quality was sacrificed to quantity, and it was found necessary to give a higher fixed pay and to insist on a certain minimum outturn.

The experience of this settlement has shown that printing should not be started until a considerable number of records are ready for the press. If the demand exceeds the supply it may be necessary to close the press down for a few months, which not only disorganises work but also causes discontent.

The work of the checking branch should keep pace with the work of the press so that the mistakes found can be rectified at once. If fines are imposed promptly the compositors will work with more care.

Finally very careful supervision is necessary, and a good officer with a reputation for strictness and honesty, whose rank is not lower than that of a Kanungo should be placed in charge.

CHAPTER VIII.

115. Expenditure and apportionment of costs.—Before considering the cost of the settlement operations in the district and comparing the actual with the estimated expenditure, it will be well to make a short survey of the varying conditions which obtained during the period which they covered. The operations started in October 1917 and closed in March 1925. The estimates of the cost of the operations were therefore prepared in 1917 at a time when the effects of the Great War, which resulted in such an enormous rise in prices and such a fall in the purchasing value of the rupee, had scarcely been felt, while the operations continued throughout the period of maximum prices to a time when the cost of living had again somewhat decreased. The rise in prices not only affected the cost of materials used during the operations but necessitated an increase of pay for the whole staff, gazetted officers, ministerial officers and menials, with the single exception of the Kanungos whose pay remained unchanged. Under Government orders the pay of Deputy Collectors and Munsifs was increased from December 1919 and that of Sub-Deputy Collectors from April 1921. The pay of all permanent Government ministerial officers had been increased as a result of the recommendations of the McAlpin Committee, and it was found necessary to increase the

pay of the settlement ministerial staff also. A general increase, equal to an increase of 80 per cent. on the pay which they had drawn at the start of the operations in 1917, was accordingly granted from January 1921. From the previous month a rise had been allowed in the rate of contract pay of the press staff, and the rate of pay of the amins had also to be raised. Thus by the beginning of 1921 the whole of the settlement staff, with the exception of the Kanungos had been given an increased wage.

When comparing the actual with the estimated expenditure for the operations, this rise in the cost of materials and the increase in the pay of the staff must be borne in mind, and the fact that the total actual expenditure did not exceed the estimated even the most rigid economy could not have made possible, had it not been that the work of supervision and inspection was performed by an agency cheaper than had been intended or hitherto thought desirable. This was the result of circumstances partly accidental and partly deliberate. Owing to the depletion of the cadre caused by the demands made upon it for military purposes and by the cessation of recruitment, Civilian officers were not available as Charge Officers except for two short periods in 1919-20 and 1920-21. In the interests of economy Deputy Collectors and Munsifs were sparingly employed, and even Sub-Deputy Collectors were replaced to a very large extent by senior Kanungos. This policy was not solely due to the desire for economy but also to the wish to retain in employment as large a number of Kanungos as possible, who would otherwise have been discharged owing to the reduction in the settlement programme.

116. Estimates of cost.—The original estimate for the cost of the district operations was submitted to the Government of India with the Bengal Government's letter No. 9329 L.R., of the 12th September 1914. This estimate was based on an area of 2,621 square miles which comprised the whole district of Bankura, including the small area previously surveyed. The gross cost of the operations was estimated at Rs. 22,45,675 or Rs. 857 per square mile, and the net cost at Rs. 19,25,913 or Rs. 734 per square mile.

As stated in a previous chapter the operations were postponed owing to the outbreak of the War in Europe, and

meanwhile, in compliance with the request of the Mining and Geological Association, it was decided to include the subdivision of Asansol in the operations. A revised estimate was accordingly prepared and submitted to the Government of India with the Bengal Government's letter No. 3488, of the 11th April 1917. The revised estimate was based on an area of 3,238 square miles, which included the Asansol subdivision, and in this estimate the gross cost was calculated at Rs. 28,62,218 or Rs. 884 per square mile, and the net cost at Rs. 25,02,218 or Rs. 773 per square mile. The cost rate was somewhat higher in the revised than in the original estimate, because it was anticipated that unforeseen difficulties might arise in the coal area of Asansol, but it approximated very closely to the standard rate of Rs. 877 and Rs. 777 per square mile. respectively.

117. Expenditure.—The accounts of the settlement have not yet been closed, but it is hoped that they may be closed at the end of the present financial year 1924-25. The figures given below show the expenditure under each separate head up to the end of January 1925, as compared with the estimated expenditure and the standard cost rate as adjusted for Bankura. It will be seen that the figures of the standard cost rate as adjusted for Bankura are considerably higher than those shown in the estimates. This increase is in view of the increased cost of materials and the increased wages of the staff which prevailed during the pendency of the operations.

Excluding the cost of traverse and map reproduction, therefore, the total gross cost of the settlement operations in the district amounts to Rs. 25,03,618-1 or Rs. 766 per square mile of area settled. According to the original estimates prepared in 1917 the total gross expenditure, excluding the cost of traverse and map reproduction was calculated at Rs. 25,92,266 or Rs. 801 per square mile of estimated area, while the standard rate adjusted for Bankura amounts to Rs. 842 per square mile. By rigid economy and by the employment of a cheaper agency for inspection and supervision it has, therefore, been possible to effect a saving over the estimates prepared in 1917 in spite of the rise in prices and the increase of the pay of the staff to which reference has been made at the commencement of this chapter.

Item of work.	Gross expenditure.		Actual cost rate per square mile.	Cost rate per square mile according to original estimate.	Standard rate adjusted for Bankura.
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cadastral survey	3,74,246	3 6	* 114	109	115
<i>Khanapuri</i> ..	1,43,530	10 6	44	39	47
Preliminary office work.	67,494	12 5	21	18	18
<i>Bujharat</i> ..	3,22,954	4 9	99	87	113
Attestation ..	2,04,149	1 0	62	61	76
Objections ..	34,998	14 8	11	28	27
Final office work—					
<i>Janch</i> ..	85,867	5 8	27	20	25
Statistics ..	13,927	2 9	4	10	10
Final maps ..	26,475	4 11	8	6	6
<i>Topo</i> maps ..	19,359	0 6	6	2	2
Final record ..	1,95,236	8 2	60	53	62
Computation, recovery and final publication.	83,051	14 2	25	28	29
Case work ..	57,169	14 10	17	31	16
<i>Jamabandi and diara.</i>	1,014	15 3	..	..	..
Supervision ..	3,96,103	2 6	121	178	179
Contingencies	4,38,042	14 4	134	117	101
Director of Land Records' control.	36,140	0 0	11	15	16
Estimated expenditure to close of operations.	3,855	14 7	1	..	..
Total ..	25,03,818	1 0	766	801	842

The saving would have been greater had it been possible to close the operations within the scheduled time. Owing, however, to the financial stringency which Government had to face during the years 1921-1923 it was found necessary to cut down the settlement budget. The staff of the settlement had, therefore, to be reduced, and this led to an extension of the time necessary to complete the operations, with the inevitable consequence that the total cost was increased.

It will be seen from the statement above that in the following items the actual expenditure has exceeded the estimates:—

	Per square mile.
	Rs.
Cadastral survey ..	5
<i>Khanapuri</i> ..	5
Preliminary office work ..	3
<i>Bujharat</i> ..	12
Attestation ..	1
Final <i>janch</i> ..	7
Final maps ..	2
<i>Topo</i> maps ..	4
Final record ..	7
Contingencies ..	17

In the beginning of this chapter general reasons have been given to account for excess expenditure, namely, the increase in the cost of materials and the increase in the wages of the staff. These reasons alone are sufficient to account for the excess expenditure in the items detailed above.

A further reason is to be found in the fact that for the purpose of the initial estimate the area to be settled was calculated at 3,238 square miles, and it was assumed that the number of plots and interests would be 1,000 and 250 to the square mile, respectively. The total area settled has been found to be 3,269 square miles and the number of plots and interests 1,384 and 290 to the square mile, respectively. Consequently, in place of 3,238,000 plots and 809,500 interests, a record has been prepared of 4,525,054 plots and 948,951 interests.

A further cause for the excess expenditure under certain heads, particularly in the preparation of final and *topo* maps and in *bujharat*, is to be found in the exceedingly difficult nature of the country to be surveyed, the smallness of the fields and the tortuousness of the field boundaries. In the Asansol subdivision, moreover, the large number of colliery sidings, colliery pits, chimneys, etc., all added to the cost of map making.

As noted in a previous chapter the excess expenditure under the head "Final *Janch*" is due to the policy of employing considerable numbers of Revenue Officers and Kanungos in *janch* camps during recess. The salaries of these officers have to be paid in any case, and they can be more usefully employed in supervising the work of final *janch* than in any work at headquarters. For this reason the expenditure under the head "Final *Janch*" has increased and that under "Supervision" decreased.

The excess of actual over estimated expenditure is more considerable under the head "Contingencies" than under any other head. This increase is due to the great rise in the price of materials of all kinds which obtained during the operations. The cost of the office building alone, amounted to no less than Rs. 1,25,651-7-8. It will be seen that in the sanctioned rate adjusted for Bankura the rate under the head "Contingencies" is given as Rs. 101 per square mile. This rate was calculated on the assumption that the cost of the office building

would not be debited to the settlement, but only a rent calculated at the rate of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the gross cost. Had this proposal been carried into effect the expenditure under the head "Contingencies" would have been reduced by Rs. 89,651-7-8 (Rs. 1,25,651-7-8—Rs. 36,000) and the total expenditure would have been reduced to Rs. 3,48,391-6-8 or Rs. 107 per square mile. Not only has the whole of this expenditure been debited to the settlement, but, owing to a delay in the receipt of orders as to the disposal of the building, nothing has been credited to the settlement on account of the present value of the building.

Savings in expenditure over that estimated have been effected under the following heads:—

	Per square mile.
	Rs.
Objections	17
Statistics	6
Computation and recovery	3
Case work	14
Supervision	57
Director of Land Records' control	4

The most considerable saving is under the head "Supervision", and this in spite of the fact that the operations, for reasons beyond the control of local officers, have dragged on for six months beyond the scheduled time. The saving is due to the cheaper agency employed. Civilian Charge Officers were available for employment in the settlement on two occasions only for a period of four and five and a half months, respectively, and the work which would ordinarily have been done by them was performed by Deputy or Sub-Deputy Collectors. Moreover, Deputy Collectors were very sparingly employed during the operations, and they were replaced by Sub-Deputy Collectors and by Revenue Officers.

118. **Receipts.**—The estimate of receipts prepared before the start of the operations is given below—

	Rs.
Stamps	2,50,000
Sale of stock	60,000
Sale of maps and <i>khatians</i>	50,000
Total	3,60,000

the actual receipts are—

	Rs.	A. P.
Stamps	2,50,513	15 0
Sale of stock, maps and <i>khatians</i>	1,07,993	1 3
Estimated receipt for March 1925	1,110	0 0
Total	3,68,617	0 3

The receipts under the head "Sale of maps and *khatians*" were overestimated. It is, as a rule, large landlords who purchase copies of the record and of the maps, and in the Bankura district large landlords are few in number. Such sales as took place were usually made at the headquarters office where records of complete villages were sold in a few cases to large proprietors. Casual sales in Recovery Camps were so few that in the last two blocks the practice of sending records for sale to the Recovery Camps was abandoned.

119. **Net expenditure and distribution of the net expenditure between the Government of India and private parties.**—The statement below shows at a glance the gross expenditure, the net expenditure and the distribution of the net expenditure between the Government of India and private parties—

	Rs.	A. P.
Total gross expenditure for the settlement operations proper as given on page 103 of the report.	25,03,618	1 0
Add cost of traverse and map reproduction	3,36,256	0 0
Total gross cost of the operation	28,39,874	1 0
Deduct receipts	3,68,617	0 3
Net cost of the operation	24,71,257	0 9
Deduct 25 per cent. payable by the Government of India.	6,17,814	4 2
Balance	18,53,442	12 7
Add cost of maintenance of boundary marks at Rs. 5-12 per square mile.	18,706	12 0
Amount recoverable from private parties	18,72,249	8 7
Actual recovery up to the 28th February 1925	19,32,006	5 0
Excess recovered	59,756	12 5

The gross cost of the operations for an area of 3,269 square miles has thus amounted to Rs. 28,39,874-1 or Rs. 869 per square mile, while the net expenditure is Rs. 24,71,257-0-9 or Rs. 756 per square mile. The estimated gross cost of the operations calculated on the basis of an area of 3,238 square miles was Rs. 28,62,218 or Rs. 884 per square mile, and the estimated net cost Rs. 25,02,218 or Rs. 773 per square mile.

120. **Apportionment of costs.**—It is desirable for obvious reasons that the recovery of the costs of the operations in district settlements should be started as early as possible, so that the work of recovery may be completed before the operations are finally closed. It is not, therefore, possible to postpone the proposals for the apportionment of costs until the accounts for the settlement are finally adjusted.

For the operations under review it was thought advisable, owing to the diversity of conditions obtaining in different parts of the district, to formulate separate proposals for different areas. In the west of the district, for instance, the work was simpler and consequently less expensive than in the east, while in the west the people are poor and it was therefore desirable that they should be assessed, if possible, at a lower rate than their more prosperous brethren elsewhere.

For these reasons separate proposals for the apportionment of costs were made for each block into which the area under survey and settlement had been divided after the work of the particular block up to the stage of final *janch* had

been completed. The proposals were therefore based on a calculation of the actual expenditure for the work done and for the remaining items of work, on the estimates approved by Government taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances observed in each block. Thus six separate apportionment orders under section 114, Bengal Tenancy Act, were passed and the notifications by which these orders were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* are reprinted in Appendix XII to this report.

Owing to the large area under waste and jungle different rates were charged for cultivated lands and for lands under jungle and waste lands.

The statement below gives the rates charged for the different areas :—

Block.	Order.	Cost rate per acre.		Remarks.
		For cultivated lands.	For waste and jungle.	
A	59 T. R., dated 27th April 1920 ..	Rs. A. 0 14	As. 5	Comprises the six Western Thanas of the Bankura district.
B	2472 L.R., dated 30th March 1921	1 0	6	Comprises the thanas of Saltora and Mejhia.
	2473 L.R., dated 30th March 1921	1 2	7	Comprises the whole of the Asansol Subdivision.
C	11104 L.R., dated 21st December 1921.	1 0	6	Comprises the 5 central thanas of the Bankura district.
D	832 L.R., dated 26th January 1923	1 0	6	Comprises thanas Bishnupur, Joypur, Kotalpur and Siromanipur.
	6062 L.R., dated 6th August 1923	1 2	7	Comprises thanas Sonamukhi, Radhanagar, Indas and Patrasair.

As originally proposed costs were to be recovered from the six western thanas at the rate of as. 14 and as. 5 and from the rest of the district of Bankura at the rate of Re. 1 and as. 6 for cultivated land and for jungle and waste, respectively. When, however, recovery of the four southern thanas of Bishnupur subdivision was nearing completion it was found that there was a likelihood of a deficit if the rates sanctioned in Government order No. 832 L.R., of the 26th January 1923, were not revised. Accordingly by the end of June 1923 fresh proposals were submitted for increasing the rates for the four

northern thanas of the subdivision to Re. 1-2 and as. 7, respectively. This proposal was sanctioned in Government order No. 6062 L.R., of the 6th August 1923.

The reasons for this error in calculation were twofold. In the first place no decision had been come to as to the disposal of the settlement office building when the operations should be finally closed and hence the value of the building was not shown as a receipt on the credit side of the settlement accounts. Secondly, it was found that the area under jungle and waste in the Bishnupur

subdivision had been somewhat underestimated, and the proportionate areas under cultivation and under waste and jungle were not correctly known until the statistisal registers had been completed.

The rates for the Asansol subdivision were fixed somewhat higher than those for the Bankura district because of the greater difficulties which the preparation of a map and a record of rights in that subdivision involved. The work in that subdivision also involved certain extra expenses, such as the hiring of an office building in Asansol.

121. Computation, finally publication and recovery.—The apportionment of the costs of the operations was computed on the basis of area in accordance with the rules laid down in the "Technical Rules and Instructions of the Settlement Department". The demand register was prepared at the headquarters office and the entries were made from the original *khatian* volumes beginning from the last *khatian* in the serial order in the *khatian* volume. It was found that to make the entries serially was the only way to avoid omissions. The calculation of the demands of all proprietors and tenure-holders was checked by a set of checkers, and 20 per cent. of all demands was checked by the supervisor of the section. Finally the total area of the village as shown in the demand register was compared with the total as given in the *janch* form and in the record of rights itself.

Final publication proclamations were published in the villages of a thana sufficiently in advance of the recovery programme. The record of rights of these villages was kept open for public inspection at the headquarters office for a period of one month after the issue of the proclamation.

Recovery of costs in the village concerned always commenced as soon as possible after the expiry of the period of one month. On the day on which the recovery of costs in any village commenced the Recovery Officer sent a post-card to the Assistant Settlement Officer at headquarters with an intimation of the fact, and the latter signed the certificate of final publication on that very day on the strength of the report on the post-card. The period of limitation for filing cases under sections 105 and 106, Bengal Tenancy Act, commenced from the date of signing the certificate and

lists were published on the notice board showing the date of final publication of the various mauzas.

122. Progress of recovery.—The costs of the settlement operations have been recovered from landlords and tenants without friction and without undue difficulty. In the case of big landlords the costs were paid at the headquarters office, where special accounts were kept in particular instances, and permission was granted, where necessary, to pay the costs by instalments. Such difficulties as were encountered were almost always in recoveries from co-sharer landlords and from non-resident proprietors and tenure-holders. But great patience was exercised, and sales were not resorted to until it was clear that no other means would be effectual. In one single instance criminal proceedings had to be instituted against a defaulter for violently resisting the officer deputed to execute the certificate. The case ended in conviction. In a second instance a certificate peon in Raipur thana disappeared. Foul play was suspected, but, in spite of vigorous police action, evidence was not forthcoming.

The actual cultivators gave little trouble. Only in the troublous times of 1921 was there a threat of organised opposition in Gangajalghati thana, but this opposition soon gave way to tact and firmness.

In the early stages certificates were filed for all cases of default however small on the basis of defaulters' lists furnished by the Recovery Officers. The object of this procedure was to discourage the idea among petty defaulters that they would escape payment if only they could resist the pressure of the main recovery camps. At the same time arrear collection camps were organised, and selected Tahsildars were sent to make house-to-house collections under the supervision of touring Kanungos. During these house-to-house collections many of the petty defaulters complained of defective service of notices previously and willingly paid their costs when the Tahsildars found them in their houses and handed over to them the maps and *khatians*. Where costs were recovered by means of house-to-house collection the process fee was remitted even though a certificate had been filed. The success of the house-to-house collections depended on the amount of control that was exercised over the Tahsildars. The remarkably

low percentage of remission in this settlement (only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total computed demand) was mainly due to the satisfactory organisation of arrear collection camps. In the thanas of the last two blocks certificates were restricted to demands of Rs. 10 and over, and lesser demands were realised by house-to-house collections.

The total computed demand of the four blocks was Rs. 19,44,448-1. Of this Rs. 17,23,690-4 has been realised amicably and Rs. 2,04,868-3 by certificate, leaving a balance of Rs. 15,889-10. Of this balance Rs. 5,186-1 is payable by Government on account of *diara* and *jamabandi* work and on account of lands in the occupation of Government departments, while Rs. 10,703-9, or little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the computed demand, has been remitted by the order of the Director of Land Records.

The number of certificates filed for default of payment of settlement costs was 21,270 for a demand of Rs. 2,06,925-3. Of this Rs. 2,04,868-3 was actually realised in 19,522 cases, while Rs. 2,057 in 1,748 cases was remitted by the order of the Director of Land Records. In 12,929 cases Rs. 46,309-3 was realised without the issue of warrants, Rs. 1,57,776-1 was realised in 6,581 cases after issue of warrants, while only in 12 cases covering an amount of Rs. 782-15 had the sale of property to be resorted to.

CHAPTER IX.

Conclusion.

123. Economic and administrative problems in the western and eastern districts of Bengal.—In conclusion I would emphasize the essential difference in the problems both economic and administrative which arise in the districts of Western as opposed to those of Eastern Bengal.

In Eastern Bengal the land is fertile, the crops abundant, the sources of irrigation sufficient and the population flourishing and rapidly increasing. In Western Bengal the crops, never so abundant, are dependent mainly on the rainfall, the increase in the population is small, and the people themselves on the whole poor and backward. Thus it happens that in Eastern Bengal all available land is being taken up for cultivation and the problem of finding

sufficient land for the growing population will soon become acute, while in Western Bengal land fit for cultivation often remains untilled and there is more land than there are cultivators available.

And yet the rents in Western Bengal districts are not in general lower than those in Eastern Bengal; in comparison to the value of the crops they are distinctly higher. It will thus be seen that rents in Bengal are in no sense economic or competitive, but they are governed by custom and vary from district to district and from pargana to pargana within the district. Throughout Bengal, indeed, in comparison with the value of the crop which is produced, cash rents are low. In Eastern Bengal, where the cultivator is reasonably certain of harvesting a sufficient crop, he finds no difficulty in paying his rent regularly. In Western Bengal the case is otherwise. Here the cultivator has but little margin above subsistence in an ordinary year, and when, owing to insufficiency of rainfall, his crop fails, he is unable to pay his rent.

On failure to pay rent, the tenant is sold up, his holding is bought up by the landlord, and resettled with him on a produce rent. In place of a rent which is low in comparison with the value of the crop produced, the tenant is required to pay a very high rent, and his position thereafter becomes hopeless. In Bengal the cultivator is attached to his home, and seldom tries to better his condition by emigrating to another district where perhaps he might secure land on easier conditions and start life afresh. For this he has neither the knowledge nor the desire.

It is difficult to find a remedy for this state of affairs. Under the law the tenant can apply to have his produce rent commuted to a cash rent, but the provisions of the law in this respect are not altogether satisfactory, and it is a question whether more drastic measures should not be passed by the legislature to prevent the rack-renting which prevails under this system of produce rent. In any case the tenant is too ignorant, and too much in fear of his landlord to apply for commutation.

The present condition of the Western Bengal cultivator is such that he has no thought beyond the material one of finding subsistence for himself and his family. Before there can be any

question of raising him and educating him socially and politically it is necessary to give him some sense of material security. To accomplish this no means suggests itself to me except the introduction of Co-operative Credit Societies. Such societies should be the means not only of teaching thrift to the cultivator but also of enabling him to improve his land by means of irrigation, and gradually to exclude the possibility of a failure of crop. But in a district like Bankura such societies cannot be allowed to run themselves, they require the constant care and supervision of able and sympathetic officials. Among the aborigines, as I have pointed out in a previous chapter, such societies are especially needed, but here the contributions to the societies should be in grain and not in money.

In Bankura the revenue and criminal work is light, but it is nevertheless a district which offers ample scope for the talents of an able and sympathetic administrator.

It has been seen that from the point of view of Tenancy Law the problem in Western Bengal is not in any way connected with the transfer of occupancy holdings. It has been proposed by the Committee recently appointed to consider the question of amending the Bengal Tenancy Act that the transfer of occupancy holdings shall be permitted by the law on payment to the landlord of 25 per cent. of the purchase price. Such a proposal would legalise the present practice in Eastern and Central Bengal, but it would hit the Western Bengal cultivator hard, seeing that at present transfers are freely made and *salami* is seldom exacted. The main problem in Western Bengal is to prevent the spread of rack rents caused by the extension of the present system of produce rents.

124. Merits of officers.—It is fitting that the report should conclude with an acknowledgment of the services of all the members of the settlement staff who laboured with me to bring the operations to a successful issue.

The field work was very arduous throughout. Not only did the excessive heat which prevails in Bankura between March and June make field work during those months an unpleasant task, but, owing to the comparatively small number of Kanungos allotted to the settlement, it was found necessary to continue the field work until very late in the year ;

for two years at least the work continued as late as September. The necessity for prolonging the field work till nearly the end of the rains inevitably told on the health of the Kanungos with the result that a number broke down in health at various times. Moreover, I regret to have to record that there were no less than four cases of death among Kanungos during the field season, two in the first year, one in April 1920 and one in May 1922. The first two were due to Enteric, and the two latter to fever the result of exposure. Of these two latter, one Babu Keshab Lal Sen was the most promising of my younger Kanungos, while in Babu Rohini Kumar Dutt the department lost an excellent Kanungo who never spared himself and who could always be relied upon to do his very best. In spite of hardships the cheerful and uncomplaining way in which the members of the staff, almost without exception, set themselves to carry out a programme, which often looked well nigh impossible, is deserving of all praise.

It was a matter for regret that Civilian Charge Officers were spared for work in the settlement for such a short period. Mr. J. R. Blair, I.C.S., was Charge Officer from 14th October 1919 to 14th February 1920, and Mr. T. M. Dow, I.C.S., from 3rd November 1920 to 16th April 1921. They spared no pains in learning the work and in touring in their charges energetically.

Of the Deputy Collectors my thanks are especially due to Babu (now Rai Sahib) Surendra Nath Banerji and to Babu Amulya Kumar Guha, who acted as my Charge Officers from the second year of the operations. Of Babu Surendra Nath Banerji I cannot speak too highly. He was my right hand man throughout the operations. As an Inspecting Officer he was excellent and as an office organizer he was invaluable. To him also I am indebted for much of the matter in this report contained in the chapter relating to the economic condition of the people. Babu Amulya Kumar Guha was Charge Officer for cadastral camps for four seasons in succession, and the energy with which he toured seriously affected his health. He was employed also on *diara* work and on case work, and the care and attention to detail which were manifest in every branch of the work which he undertook are deserving of all praise. To him, too, fell the somewhat thankless task of completing and finally closing down the operations.

and I am indebted to him for much of the information in the report regarding the closing stages of the work. The work of Babu Jamini Prasanna Ray is also deserving of special mention ; and I had recommended him as being fully qualified for the post of Charge Officer when his health unfortunately broke down and he had perforce to revert to the general line in August 1921.

Of the Sub-Deputy Collectors Babus Chinta Haran Das Gupta, Anil Chandra Lahiri, Mriganka Bhusan Ray and Bir Chandra Mukherji are deserving of special praise. Babu Anil Chandra Lahiri particularly distinguished himself by the care and thoroughness with which he did his work both in the field and at headquarters, and I hope that it will not be long before his services are rewarded by promotion to the Provincial Service.

The work of the Drawing Office was capably supervised by the Technical

Adviser, Babu Sashi Bhusan Ghosh, and, as Head Draftsman, the work of Babu Bipin Behari Bera was excellent.

Among the many Kanungos who did good work it is difficult to single out individuals for special mention ; but of those who worked throughout the operations or for the bulk of that period, I would select Babus Upendra Nath Banarji, Hemanga Lal Das Gupta, Hemanta Kumar Koyal, Mohim Chandra Dutt, Nityananda Chakrabarty, Chandra Mohan Dutt and Maulvi Abdul Aziz Akhand as having done especially meritorious work.

I may be permitted also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Messrs. M. C. McAlpin and F. A. Sachse, who held the post of Director of Land Records while I was Settlement Officer, for their never-failing advice, support and encouragement. My thanks are also due to the Directors of Surveys, Colonel Hirst and Mr. O'Donel for their co-operation.

APPENDICES.

Statement showing

Name of thana, etc.	Area in square miles according to Permanent Settlement.	Name and area of Revenue thana according to the Revenue Survey.	Number of Homesteads.			Total number of the		
			1921.	1911.	1901.	1921.	1911.	1901
Bankura Municipality ..	157	Bankura 332	5,011	29,623	28,504	25,406	94,168	148,870
Bankura Thana ..			14,397			67,020		
Chhatna ..			11,482			61,551		
Onda ..	198	Onda 329	15,870	24,184	24,702	66,862	79,010	122,917
Taldangra ..	135		7,887			38,671		
Simlapal ..	119	Simlapal 119	6,737	6,958	6,854	35,729	38,486	38,109
Ranibandh ..	166	Included partly in Raipur and partly in Khatra.	7,941	..	..	42,337	..	..
Raipur ..	227	Raipur 333	15,949	20,405	19,181	83,244	1,10,078	1,01,435
Khatra ..	167	Khatra 343	10,874	22,734	21,553	57,987	83,861	115,313
Indpur ..	116		7,768			41,864		
Gangajalghati ..	144	Gangajalghati 465	10,090	37,039	30,888	49,991	82,458	122,399
Mejbia ..	63		5,545			26,550		
Saltora ..	121		8,168			40,520		
Barjora ..	145		3,373			56,700		
Total of Sadar Subdivision ..	1,931	1,921	141,092	140,943	137,022	604,442	746,964	712,055
Bishnupur Municipality ..	95	Bishnupur 302	4,572	31,870	33,882	19,398	20,478	142,873
Bishnupur Thana ..			5,251			20,717		
Joypur ..			7,313			26,681		
Radhanagar ..	127	Sonamukhi 141	10,169	17,431	18,256	39,467	61,720	82,488
Sonamukhi Municipality ..	105		3,157			10,644		
Sonamukhi Thana ..			7,576			30,620		
Patrasair Thana ..	104		12,579			45,700		
Patrasair Town ..			1,734			5,434		
Indas ..	98	Indas 124	13,964	18,382	18,299	40,843	77,940	82,343
Kotalpur ..	73	Kotalpur 133	12,185	23,167	23,527	41,264	91,989	96,652
Siromanipur ..	59		9,174			34,914		
Total of Bishnupur Subdivision.	712	700	87,674	90,850	93,964	325,990	391,706	404,350
Total of District ..	2,643	2,621	228,766	231,793	231,646	1,019,941	1,138,670	1,116,411

DIX I.

Area and Population.

population.		Percentage of variation each decade.				Number of persons per square m ² lc.				
1891.	1881.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
140,601	127,458	-1.85	+6.39	+5.88	+10.1	588	477	448	423	384
		-4.1				356				
122,373	119,397	-15.38	-1.89	+0.44	+2.4	338	367	374	372	563
		-7.0				286				
37,011	32,705	-7.1	+0.99	+2.97	+13.0	300	323	329	311	275
....	....					255	....	....	....	....
102,242	95,884	-6.1	+8.52	-0.79	+6.5	367	331	305	307	288
111,948	99,107		+12.72	+3.00	+12.8	347	379	336	326	289
						361				
117,821	172,486	-7.2	+2.17	+3.88	-3.2	347	407	399	383	371
		-5.79		+4.39		335				
60,361		-11.3				391				
692,357	647,037	-7.0	+4.9	+2.85		358.5				
135,974	140,709		-2.20	+5.07	-3.4	422				
		-17.1				523	403	473	450	466
						310				
75,489	80,058		-0.54	+9.27	-5.8	397	582	585	535	568
						487				
74,506	78,830		-5.35	+10.39	-5.3	504	629	664	601	636
91,252	94,912	-16.3	-4.82	+5.91	-3.9	576	692	727	686	714
						592				
377,311	394,500	-1.69	-3.13	+7.17	-4.4	457	560	578	539	564
1,069,668	1,040,537	-10.4	+1.99	+4.37	+2.7	386	434	426	405	397

APPEN

Statement showing the births and deaths in the

[illegible]

DIX II.

district of Bankura from the year 1912 to 1921.

Deaths.											
1920.	1921.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1 21.
450	430	344	539	572	632	466	488	624	455	409	442
409	358	498	569	747	574	296	381	659	622	573	531
299	237	345	403	451	365	479	250	678	501	338	363
2,340	2,099	3,557	4,515	5,583	4,736	4,923	3,905	6,024	2,587	2,888	2,803
2,060	2,076	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,086	1,792	2,191
2,056	1,764	3,310	3,526	4,413	3,975	5,162	3,948	6,271	2,034	1,830	1,935
1,228	1,536	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,466	1,254	1,321
1,399	951	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,057	898	901
2,037	1,904	1,926	1,974	3,003	2,547	2,011	1 743	2,953	2,443	2,233	2,312
2,099	2,000	3,304	5,477	6,833	4,275	3,542	3,209	6,803	3,074	3,167	2,733
1,434	1,328	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,247	1,421	1,4 6
1,688	2,210	3,118	3,794	3,504	3,004	3,260	2,691	4,744	1,944	1,955	2,085
2,471	1,582	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,694	1,401	1,616
1,337	1,388	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,055	1,143	1,327
2,662	2,543	2,618	2,956	2,860	3,496	3,175	2,865	5,033	2,287	2,184	2,385
1,607.	1,315	1,043	1,182	1,074	1,184	931	919	1,576	1,119	1,040	1,168
708	614	4,326	5,684	6,198	4,526	3,837	3,287	7,254	925	814	836
721	797	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,413	1,386	1,131
1,408	1,151	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,717	2,024	1,601
1,176	838	2,108	2,158	3,263	2,444	2,168	1, 14	3,503	3,149	2,843	1,478
..	1,330	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,297
1,517	1,482	2,940	3,620	3,657	2,932	2,518	2,436	4,896	1,748	2,965	2,576
1,806	1,231	3,844	3,932	3,904	3,503	3,000	3,018	5,952	2,090	2,075	2,131
1,306	953	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,875	1,705	1,544

APPENDIX

District

Milan

Cropped area.															Current fallow.	
		Bhadol.		Aghani.		Rabi.		Other cropped e.g., mango, tea, pan, plan- tain, guavas, etc.		Total.		Dofasil.		Net cropped area.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9								
BLOCK A.		A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	
Thana—																
Raipur ..	46,587	56	31,633	37	4,828	55	790	42	83,839	90	748	37	83,091	53	6,638	89
Chhatna ..	30,539	3	16,598	37	2,780	31	272	16	50,125	87	1,147	43	48,978	28	7,842	98
Simlapal ..	18,932	93	9,465	39	2,132	38	636	47	31,167	17	588	73	30,578	44	3,754	48
Khatna ..	2,829	17	22,638	65	2,151	39	1,617	65	52,236	86	650	19	51,586	67	7,755	38
Rani Bandh ..	22,959	39	22,032	3	1,904	27	122	39	47,078	28	196	26	46,882	02	7,399	55
Indpur ..	16,460	37	17,043	49	1,711	92	267	41	35,483	19	320	49	35,162	72	3,579	34
Total ..	161,308	45	119,387	50	15,528	82	3,706	50	299,931	27	3,651	45	296,279	82	36,970	62
BLOCK B.																
Thana—																
Mijhla ..	1,141	87	12,467	45	741	18	152	33	14,772	83	115	77	14,657	06	2,425	15
Saltara ..	11,754	75	21,467	78	907	34	135	97	34,265	74	44	73	34,221	01	7,336	34
Total ..	13,166	62	33,935	23	1,648	42	288	30	49,038	57	160	50	48,878	07	9,961	49
BLOCK C.																
Thana—																
Bankura ..	17,722	04	26,741	86	1,445	42	1,472	74	47,382	06	769	30	46,612	76	4,002	08
Barjora ..	9,567	17	25,664	29	2,791	28	1,747	67	39,770	41	1,087	29	38,683	12	2,211	72
Onda ..	19,421	26	31,514	96	3,461	12	1,093	34	5,490	68	2,570	25	52,920	43	5,103	32
Talgandra ..	19,090	90	13,999	81	1,485	99	655	53	34,322	23	478	79	33,753	44	3,907	80
Gangajal Ghati ..	10,690	56	27,884	75	2,092	13	257	53	40,924	97	400	03	40,524	94	3,339	43
Total ..	75,491	93	12,580	567	11,275	94	5,226	81	217,800	35	5,305	66	212,494	69	18,564	35
BLOCK D.																
Thana—																
Kotulpur ..	5,034	25	26,880	30	3,088	97	1,289	60	36,293	12	2,598	93	33,694	19	621	36
Sonamukhi ..	7,408	245	22,700	550	2,414	875	1,345	588	33,869	258	1,796	980	32,072	278	1,381	505
Bishnupur ..	5,782	075	10,216	570	663	902	1,376	481	18,039	028	648	590	17,390	438	987	618
Patrasair ..	7,861	895	25,239	225	4,084	590	2,038	845	39,224	555	3,708	860	35,515	695	1,180	540
Joypur ..	3,770	38	12,281	84	1,183	50	546	18	17,781	90	1,228	79	16,553	11	525	09
Indas ..	5,473	93	38,451	97	2,992	16	1,246	70	48,164	76	2,969	00	45,195	76	441	76
Radhanagar ..	6,063	00	24,624	86	1,762	52	1,333	41	33,783	79	1,684	29	32,099	60	1,084	87
Siromonipur ..	4,036	19	22,324	51	2,138	25	632	08	29,131	03	2,377	74	26,753	29	219	99
Total ..	45,429	965	182,719	825	18,328	767	9,808	884	256,287	441	17,013	180	239,294	261	6,451	733
Block 'A'																
" 'B'	13,166	62	33,935	23	1,648	42	288	30	49,038	57	160	50	48,878	07	9,761	49
" 'C'	75,491	93	12,580	567	11,275	94	5,226	81	217,800	35	5,305	66	212,494	69	18,564	35
" 'D'	45,429	965	182,719	825	18,328	767	9,808	884	256,287	441	17,013	180	239,274	261	6,451	733
Grand Total ..	295,396	965	461,848	225	46,781	947	19,030	498	823,057	631	26,130	790	796,926	841	71,748	193

Asansol Subdivision

Block "B" ..	65,024	399	113,959	555	5,655	732	5,817	830	189,857	456	1,641	610	188,215	846	23,131	494
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III.

Bahkura.

Khasra.

Culturable area other than current fallow.					Area not available for cultivation.			
Old fallow.	Groves not fruit-bearing and bamboos.	Culturable jungle.	Other kinds.	Total.	House sites.	Water.	Other kinds.	Total.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
12,788 68	416 48	10,005 66	1,266 68	24,433 50	1,878 22	9,236 63	20,053 78	31,168 59
14,597 99	753 96	4,195 83	491 53	20,039 31	1,127 41	9,567 71	24,132 46	33,827 54
9,178 84	1,339 89	4,536 37	216 29	15,267 39	1,003 45	6,177 84	19,673 26	26,854 55
13,222 00	660 40	5,687 04	545 68	20,115 12	1,052 95	4,000 13	20,883 46	26,845 54
8,877 15	649 70	10,211 07	1,614 83	21,352 75	843 72	3,821 07	25,692 70	30,377 58
10,580 58	578 32	3,405 70	1,492 36	16,056 96	799 63	4,139 79	14,529 15	19,468 57
69,197 24	4,398 95	38,041 69	5,629 39	117,265 03	6,725 38	36,852 1	124,964 86	168,542 41
18,767 77	134 13	269 91	13 31	9,185 12	487 81	9,563 44	3,837 57	13,978 82
17,383 26	31 60	1,314 38	38 21	18,767 45	739 11	6,141 09	10,446 54	17,426 74
26,151 03	165 73	1,584 29	51 52	27,952 57	1,226 92	15,894 53	14,284 11	31,405 56
11,886 34	54 30	5,279 95	1,130 75	18,351 34	2,082 91	8,153 70	21,749 32	31,985 93
9,760 20	363 94	8,424 46	1,826 37	20,378 97	1,501 81	11,376 67	23,085 36	35,923 84
14,108 12	821 90	18,924 57	755 8	34,606 36	2,079 58	8,580 85	20,813 15	31,473 58
13,363 70	223 49	12,503 16	5,675 44	31,765 79	1,000 89	3,038 20	12,056 88	16,995 97
10,462 62	139 35	11,698 89	883 11	23,183 97	942 46	5,805 35	17,899 31	24,647 12
59,576 98	1,603 07	56,831 03	10,271 35	128,282 43	7,607 65	37,858 77	95,564 02	141,026 44
2,167 37	197 77	76 29	235 47	2,676 90	948 56	5,241 85	2,846 99	9,056 33
3,281 247	106 462	434 14	193 700	4,015 549	850 032	1,003 626	7,924 505	30,448 053
6,859 006	149 032	4,469 340	150 917	11,628 295	842 945	2,994 783	7,760 626	33,052 004
4,722 345	199 055	379 960	1,614 275	6,915 635	1,148 650	8,829 010	5,717 710	22,973 200
2,575 95	62 59	104 72	310 68	3,053 98	587 31	2,791 62	1,954 34	13,426 51
1,539 85	207 07	1 45	54 06	1,802 43	1,188 88	9,215 61	5,177 37	15,583 56
3,868 39	284 98	1,044 91	156 02	5,354 30	932 57	5,503 16	4,985 79	40,009 97
1,437 34	219 59	343 94	137 19	2,138 06	801 98	3,990 22	2,425 44	8,775 18
26,451 498	1,426 549	6,854 750	2,852 312	37,585 109	7,300 927	49,202 879	38,792 771	173,324 807
69,197 24	4,398 75	38,041 67	5,627 37	119,265 03	6,725 38	36,852 17	124,964 86	168,542 41
26,151 03	165 73	1,584 29	51 52	27,952 57	1,226 92	15,894 53	14,284 11	31,405 56
59,576 98	1,603 07	56,831 03	10,271 35	128,282 43	7,607 65	37,854 77	95,564 02	141,026 44
26,451 498	1,426 549	6,854 750	2,852 312	37,585 109	7,300 927	49,202 879	38,792 771	173,324 807
181,376 748	7,594 099	13,311 740	18,802 552	311,085 139	22,860 877	139,804 349	273,605 761	514,299 217

District Burdwan.

63,960 107	390 800	23,572 34	196 51	88,119 757	7,804 323	30,756 750	60,010 391	98,571 464
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APPENDIX

District

Mulan

	Total un-cultivated, cols. 9, 14 and 18.	Total area, columns 8 and 19.	Irrigated area.	Irrigated area and how irrigated.											
				Irrigated from wells.	Irrigated from Government canals.	Irrigated from private canals.	Irrigated from tanks and nahars.	Irrigated from other sources.							
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26							
BLOCK A.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.					
Thana—															
Raipur ..	62,240	98	145,232	51	9,224	79	....	....	....	9,201	51	23	28	
Chhatna ..	61,709	87	110,688	31	7,720	50	....	....	....	7,724	44	3	06	
Samlapal ..	45,870	42	76,454	80	6,430	37	....	....	....	6,199	67	230	73	
Khatna ..	54,716	04	106,302	71	9,074	15	....	....	....	9,074	15	....		
Rani Bandh ..	59,129	88	106,011	90	2,207	13	....	....	....	2,207	13	....		
Indpur ..	39,104	87	74,269	59	7,999	89	....	....	....	7,999	89	....		
Total ..	322,778	06	619,057	88	42,663	83	....	....	....	42,406	79	259	04	
BLOCK B.															
Thana—															
Mijhia ..	25,589	09	40,246	15	7,802	16	8	65	....	....	7,765	90	29	61
Saltara ..	43,530	53	77,751	54	9,552	17	....	....	....	....	9,523	96	28	21
Total ..	69,119	62	117,997	69	17,354	33	8	65	....	....	17,289	86	55	82
BLOCK C.															
Thana—															
Bankura ..	54,339	35	100,952	11	12,707	40	....	....	....	....	12,707	40	....	
Barjora ..	58,510	53	97,193	65	14,175	99	....	....	....	....	14,162	22	13	77
Onda ..	71,183	26	124,103	69	12,320	59	116	74	....	....	12,127	31	76	54
Talgandra ..	52,669	56	86,423	00	6,400	78	....	....	....	....	6,400	78	....	
Gangajal Ghati ..	51,170	52	91,695	46	14,055	10	....	....	....	....	14,055	10	....	
Total ..	287,873	22	500,367	910	59,659	86	116	74	....	....	59,452	81	90	31
BLOCK D.															
Thana—															
Kotulpur ..	12,354	59	46,048	78	14,895	40	108	75	....	....	14,186	87	599	78
Sonamukhi ..	35,845	107	67,917	385	15,448	910	202	790	..	196	10	13,069	580	1,980	440
Bishnupur ..	45,667	917	63,058	355	5,086	711	160	320	....	....	4,648	191	278	00
Patrasair ..	31,078	375	66,594	670	13,474	915	512	500	4	58	11,958	085	999	75
Joypur ..	17,005	54	33,558	56	8,147	17	24	86	....	....	8,106	12	16	59
Indas ..	17,827	75	63,023	51	20,317	20	103	24	....	....	19,922	03	291	93
Radhanagar ..	46,449	14	78,548	64	18,240	91	651	05	....	....	16,934	00	662	86
Sirmoniipur ..	11,133	23	37,886	52	10,967	73	....	....	....	....	10,967	73	....	
Total ..	217,361	649	456,635	910	106,585	946	1,763	110	200	68	99,792	606	4,829	350
Block 'A'	322,778	06	619,057	88	42,663	83	....	....	....	....	42,406	79	257	04
„ 'B'	69,119	62	117,997	69	17,354	33	8	65	....	....	17,289	86	55	82
„ 'C'	287,873	22	500,367	910	59,659	86	116	74	....	....	59,452	81	90	31
„ 'D'	217,361	649	456,635	910	106,585	946	1,763	110	200	68	99,792	606	4,829	350
Grand Total ..	89,722	549	1,694,059	390	226,263	966	1,888	500	200	68	218,942	066	5,232	720

Asansol Subdivision

Block 'B'	200,822	715	398,038	561	27,629	65	1 53	27,586	83	41 29
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III.

Bankura.

Khaara.

Details of irrigated area as regards crops.					Number of wells.		Jungle unfit for cultivation.	Remarks.
Rice.	Wheat.	Other cereals and pulses.	Other food-crops.	Non-food crop	Masonry.	Earthen.		
27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.				
9,173 23	5 01	91 89	....	54 66	1	....	
7,311 34	4 07	101 39	....	310 70	10	....	
6,048 62	57 96	87 59	4 29	231 91	1	....	
8,345 43	9 47	177 29	2 14	539 82	13	1		
2,103 72	8 92	34 14	3 70	56 65	2	....	
7,221 76	14 41	147 44	3 48	612 80	2	....	
40,104 10	99 84	639 74	13 61	1,806 54	29	1		
7,553 74	7 53	152 92	....	87 97	79	167		
8,906 00	3 17	130 31	....	512 69	35	462		
16,459 74	10 70	283 23	....	600 66	114	629		
12,628 27	....	78 53	....	....	4	7		
13,992 83	3 18	116 51	21 99	41 48	5	3		
12,128 00	10 61	152 93	20 92	8 13	6	3		
6,4 6 73	....	....	....	....	18	3		
14,010 78	....	42 53	1 02	0 77	2	1		
59,161 26	13 79	390 50	43 93	50 38	35	17		
14,452 40	47 41	260 62	108 99	25 89	11	11	18 93	
14,991 196	47 370	326 600	69 690	14 660	71	324	11,036 90	
492 896	6 665	97 660	16 370	43 120	3	155	21,453 650	
12,943 615	18 280	456 900	37 750	18 370	5	81	7,277 830	
7,905 34	22 60	178 99	18 43	21 81	12	83	8,093 24	
20,088 59	6 76	202 09	18 87	0 89	....	26	1 70	
17,965 94	32 63	168 93	68 27	12 14	20	286	28,588 45	
10,827 63	5 84	93 04	25 65	15 57	3	1	1,557 54	
104,097 691	187 555	1,784 830	363 420	152 450	161	967	78,028 230	
40,104 10	99 84	639 74	13 61	1,806 54	29	1	....
16,459 74	10 70	283 23	....	600 66	114	629	....
59,161 26	13 79	390 50	43 93	50 38	35	17	....
104,097 691	187 555	1,784 830	363 420	152 450	161	967	78,028 230	
219,822 791	311 885	3,098 300	420 960	2,610 030	339	1,614	78,028 230	

District Burdwan.

2,739 52	53 59	271 70	64 75	221	218	
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APPENDIX

District

Crop

	Cereals and pulses.								
	Rice.			Wheat.	Barley.	Cumba.	Ragi.	Malze.	Gram (pulse).
	Aus	Aman.	Boro.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BLOCK A.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
1. Thana Bâlpore ..	41,839 15	28,740 68	45 51	147 24	6 02	35 47	24 91	1,140 07	124 04
2. „ Chhâtânâ ..	30,211 47	15,976 31	17 73	88 50	36 40	8 65	38 20	170 64	41 79
3. „ Simlâpal ..	16,770 74	8,575 99	93 71	331 27	5 70	13 01	16 42	428 43	136 64
4. „ Khâtrâ ..	25,020 02	18,549 94	26 35	127 67	4 07	251 06	46 74	766 46	85 51
5. „ Rânlbârdh ..	20,926 76	16,610 37	126 20	58 50	1 58	190 48	6 98	1,720 27	46 11
6. „ Indpore ..	17,008 92	15,306 13	21 87	190 96	0 79	13 96	2 83	208 74	50 10
Total ..	151,777 06	103,759 42	331 37	944 14	55 16	512 63	136 08	4,434 61	484 19
BLOCK B.									
Thana Mijia ..	860 68	12,151 07	35 92	122 48	22 66	0 52	0 32	212 40	13 71
„ Saltora ..	9,589 96	17,968 91	4 19	15 01	7 44	1 68	4 50	625 86	170 79
Total ..	10,450 64	30,119 98	40 11	137 49	30 10	2 20	4 82	838 26	184 50
BLOCK C.									
Thana Bankura ..	17,611 51	26,540 89	0 70	156 56	94 01	0 68	2 73	27 53	80 34
„ Barjora ..	9,148 15	25,090 53	78 12	329 54	190 74	1 08	....	77 52	85 08
„ Onda ..	18,288 21	31,310 60	9 04	717 09	271 98	21 68	10 39	126 58	200 45
„ Taldangra ..	17,027 81	13,994 55	39 93	239 77	14 47	19 10	8 38	512 73	131 22
„ Gangejalghati ..	10,005 43	27,262 81	5 87	144 21	77 28	1 74	1 13	90 72	17 74
Total ..	72,081 11	124,199 38	133 66	1,587 27	648 48	44 28	22 63	835 08	514 83
BLOCK D.									
Thana Kotulpur ..	4,973 02	26,815 43	....	802 13	57 44	0 58	....	....	103 21
„ Sonamukhi ..	7,185 990	22,591 950	0 73	325 946	207 490	1 98	0 12	4 51	16 990
„ Bishnupur ..	5,180 210	10,185 850	....	115 860	13 180	28 44	13 25	237 68	54 59
„ Patrasayer ..	7,969 405	24,541 215	....	380 97	551 89	1 79	....	1 47	163 84
„ Joypur ..	3,535 01	12,171 02	....	360 70	40 01	3 38	0 66	11 04	23 98
„ Indas ..	5,262 33	38,499 35	....	500 04	166 01	0 42	....	....	34 58
„ Radhanagor ..	5,817 87	24,535 47	0 60	446 01	115 71	1 25	....	43 10	302 19
„ Shiromanipur ..	3,929 47	22,155 18	....	897 57	93 73	0 03	....	0 1	10 35
Total ..	43,853 305	181,495 465	1 33	3,829 220	1,245 460	37 87	14 03	298 02	709 730
Block A ..	151,777 06	103,759 42	331 37	944 14	55 16	512 63	136 08	4,434 61	484 19
Block B (Saltora and Mijia) ..	10,450 64	30,119 98	40 11	137 49	30 10	2 20	4 82	838 26	184 50
Block C ..	72,081 11	124,199 38	133 66	1,587 27	648 48	44 28	22 63	835 08	514 83
Block D ..	43,853 305	181,495 465	1 33	3,829 220	1,245 460	37 87	14 03	298 02	709 730
Total ..	278,162 115	439,574 506	506 47	6,498 120	1,979 200	596 98	177 56	6,405 97	1,893 250

IV.

Bankura.

Statement.

Other food grains including pulses.	Oil seeds.				Condiments and spices.	Sugar.		Fibres.		
	Linseed.	Sesamum.	Rape and mustard.	Other oil seeds.		Sugar-cane.	Others.	Cotton.	Hemp.	Jute.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
6,255 26	1,056 99	1,055 18	268 43	934 24	70 58	231 49	2 50	149 50	50 81	45 87
1,348 03	8 49	873 00	376 61	447 50	28 44	59 08	11 26	32 70	5 32	10 41
2,150 55	154 45	547 81	74 55	1,003 54	79 79	59 17	0 11	42 78	2 02	10 39
3,109 00	25 90	303 70	346 13	2,837 45	78 50	144 53	5 05	31 75	0 21	1 67
4,065 79	117 00	671 52	517 03	1,472 23	40 83	27 57	....	125 22	17 18	5 07
634 40	17 12	271 05	215 09	885 74	78 21	52 49	0 85	8 96	118 78	2 42
17,624 32	1,379 95	4,323 55	1,799 34	7,580 70	376 35	573 13	19 77	390 91	194 92	75 83
682 81	8 91	183 66	11 12	2 97	6 43	36 18	0 50	11 24	0 34	25 24
4,696 93	2 05	140 68	29 81	86 20	6 28	93 65	....	17 95	3 56	37 43
5,379 74	10 96	324 34	40 93	89 17	12 71	129 83	0 50	29 19	3 90	62 67
573 03	9 80	200 97	153 68	19 87	85 00	142 05	14 34	71 61	15 28	10 08
1,419 43	26 94	249 72	194 08	57 28	112 83	243 11	6 16	26 42	15 08	7 55
1,644 19	38 17	204 36	610 77	166 41	96 24	254 50	78 79	106 63	21 85	13 95
675 60	50 54	99 44	119 16	227 77	64 50	157 96	0 23	91 74	5 09	33 23
1,986 35	2 60	332 97	120 55	23 50	22 19	136 00	4 57	31 82	1 88	47 68
6,298 60	128 05	1,087 46	1,198 24	494 83	380 76	933 62	104 09	328 22	59 18	112 49
804 64	1 82	193 72	138 33	253 25	109 56	213 88	....	162 70	16 57	1 73
770 405	7 48	210 210	644 55	97 59	108 80	220 460	....	6 44	6 130	3 100
266 890	0 500	53 520	159 155	64 34	44 720	38 052	....	25 37	22 280	8 29
990 35	5 11	193 64	1,235 340	258 58	149 840	223 470	....	114 44	7 17	5 69
219 17	11 58	126 29	181 03	73 87	49 01	158 42	....	240 28	11 59	2 17
1,282 55	14 06	75 40	385 24	86 90	149 67	188 11	0 02	28 96	33 29	0 14
514 12	5 03	85 92	212 10	74 07	77 20	154 29	....	31 95	21 57	2 88
214 76	2 01	253 91	281 21	35 08	46 65	218 36	0 12	213 50	15 71	5 63
5,062 885	47 590	1,192 610	3,237 855	943 77	735 450	1,415 042	0 14	823 64	134 310	29 330
17,624 32	1,379 95	4,323 55	1,799 34	7,580 70	376 35	573 13	19 77	390 91	194 92	75 83
5,379 74	10 96	324 34	40 93	89 17	12 71	129 83	0 50	29 19	3 90	62 67
6,298 60	128 05	1,087 46	1,198 24	494 83	380 76	933 62	104 09	328 22	59 18	112 49
5,062 885	47 590	1,192 610	3,237 855	943 77	735 450	1,415 042	0 14	823 64	134 310	29 330
34,365 545	1,556 550	6,927 960	6,270 365	9,108 47	1,505 270	3,051 022	124 50	1,571 96	392 310	280 320

APPENDIX

District

Crop

	Dyes.			Drugs and narcotics.					
	Others.	Indigo.	Others.	Tea.	Tobacco.	Cinchona.	Indian hemp.	Retel.	Others.
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BLOCK A.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
1. Thana Raipore ..	4 57	....	12 51	....	46 51	....	....	1 92	11 09
2. " Chhātā ..	....	....	....	....	47 91	....	....	..	0 79
3. " Simlāpal ..	18 10	....	57 02	....	11 48	....	....	....	1 42
4. " Khātā ..	2 04	....	0 84	....	69 68	....	....	....	2 60
5. " Rānibāndh ..	1 37	....	....	....	57 46	....	....	....	9 23
6. " Indpore ..	8 58	....	4 34	....	28 12	....	....	....	1 29
Total ..	34 66	....	75 61	....	261 16	....	....	1 92	26 42
BLOCK B.									
Thana Mijla ..	....	....	....	....	15 52	..	....	1 91	1 27
" Saltora ..	....	....	....	....	90 95	....	....	....	1 78
Total ..	....	....	....	....	106 47	....	....	1 91	3 05
BLOCK C.									
Thana Bankura ..	1 32	....	....	....	6 28	....	....	7 72	4 75
" Barjora ..	....	....	3 80	....	156 72	....	....	1 02	1 24
" Onda ..	3 04	....	123 40	..	2 54	....	....	45 64	8 45
" Taldangra ..	4 94	....	8 79	....	10 46	....	....	1 10	2 25
" Gangajalghat ..	....	....	....	....	4 08	....	....	3 10	2 06
Total ..	9 30	....	135 99	....	180 98	....	....	58 58	18 75
BLOCK D.									
Thana Kotulpur ..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3 29	....
" Sonamukhl ..	....	....	....	....	11 47	....	....	3 530	....
" Bishnupur ..	7 79	....	....	....	0 81	....	....	0 940	0 21
" Patrasayer ..	3 82	....	....	....	6 01	....	....	14 51	....
" Joypur ..	0 37	....	....	....	0 25	....	....	8 79	0 26
" Indas ..	2 26	....	....	....	2 63	....	....	....	....
" Radhansgor ..	....	....	....	....	0 08	....	....	....	1 69
" Shriromanipur ..	0 02	....	....	....	0 09	....	0 32	13 74	....
Total ..	14 26	....	....	....	21 34	....	0 32	44 800	2 18
Block A ..	34 66	....	75 61	....	261 16	....	....	1 92	26 42
Block B (Saltora and Mijla) ..	....	....	....	....	106 47	....	....	1 91	3 05
Block C ..	9 30	....	135 99	....	180 98	....	....	58 58	18 75
Block D ..	14 26	....	....	....	21 34	....	0 32	44 800	2 18
Total ..	58 22	....	211 60	....	569 95	....	0 32	107 210	50 40

IV.

Bankura.

Statement.

Fodder crops (in cluding Jowar and Kajal).	Fruits and vegetables (including root crops.)			Miscellaneous crops.		Total.	Area cropped more than once.	Net crop- ped area.	Remarks.
	Fruits.	Potato.	Others.	Food.	Non-food.				
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	
5 64	238 91	49 23	398 22	31 87	215 49	83,839 90	748 37	83,091 53	
8 02	69 07	36 22	149 98	15 23	6 32	50,125 87	1,147 43	48,978 44	
0 41	205 51	38 95	228 55	40 49	66 67	31,167 17	588 73	30,578 44	
9 83	58 37	58 40	168 43	11 70	31 97	52,236 86	650 19	51,586 67	
....	32 37	21 61	200 06	0 95	9 44	47,078 28	196 26	46,882 02	
0 02	41 80	90 88	186 47	10 00	0 99	35,483 19	320 47	35,162 72	
23 92	666 03	295 29	1,331 71	110 24	330 88	299,931 27	3,051 45	296,279 82	
0 15	27 40	42 84	251 49	10 37	32 72	14,772 83	115 77	14,657 06	
....	43 92	6 97	565 30	541	48 53	34,265 74	44 73	34,221 01	
0 15	71 32	49 81	816 79	15 78	81 25	49,038 57	160 50	48,878 07	
28 69	616 44	84 19	551 43	172 01	98 57	47,382 06	769 30	46,612 76	
142 87	800 95	103 45	421 44	247 57	471 89	39,770 41	1,027 29	38,683 12	
32 21	244 73	110 24	440 77	240 37	47 41	55,490 68	2,570 25	52,920 43	
12 95	970 32	36 29	158 06	95 43	18 42	34,232 23	478 79	33,753 44	
23 90	202 80	19 72	143 97	94 00	113 40	40,924 97	400 03	40,524 94	
240 62	2,295 24	353 89	1,715 07	849 38	749 69	217,800 35	5,305 66	212,494 69	
....	684 16	340 62	514 82	98 32	3 90	36,293 12	2,508 93	33,694 19	
....	752 493	176 730	369 100	110 92	34 15	33,869 258	1,796 980	32,072 278	
1 37	866 621	30 630	273 779	176 36	9 381	18,039 028	648 590	17,390 438	158 96
....	1,230 96	249 07	759 95	166 025	....	39,224 555	3,706 860	35,515 695	
....	292 60	69 65	108 64	19 12	33 37	17,781 90	1,228 79	16,553 11	28 72
0 02	472 45	307 27	628 91	43 31	0 75	48,164 76	2,969 00	45,195 76	
....	682 73	61 20	435 43	139 58	21 66	33,783 79	1,684 29	32,099 50	
....	347 59	147 72	163 32	25 52	5 13	29,131 03	2,377 74	26,753 29	54 48
1 39	5,329 004	1,382 890	3,253 949	779 155	108 341	256,287 441	17,013 180	239,274 261	242 16
23 92	666 03	295 29	1,331 71	110 24	330 88	299,931 27	3,051 45	296,279 82	
0 15	71 32	49 81	816 79	15 78	81 25	49,038 57	160 50	48,887 07	
240 62	2,295 24	353 89	1,715 07	849 38	749 69	217,800 35	5,305 66	212,494 69	
1 39	5,329 004	1,382 890	3,253 949	779 155	208 341	256,287 441	17,013 180	239,274 261	242 16
266 08	8,302 194	2,081 880	7,118 119	1,754 555	1,270 101	823,057 631	20,130 790	796,926 841	242 16

APPENDIX V.

Statement of monthly rainfall in the Bankura Observatory for the last 10 years.

Months,			1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.
January	..	..	0.04	0.40	..	0.12	..	..	0.09	4.89	..	1.71
February	..	..	0.35	5.65	1.63	0.65	0.05	1.17	..	0.35	1.40	0.33
March	..	..	2.07	1.70	1.03	3.35	..	0.92	..	0.89	5.64	..
April	..	..	2.27	0.83	9.86	0.78	2.78	0.97	1.79	0.56	0.35	1.31
May	..	..	2.13	3.08	13.14	6.13	4.84	13.00	4.31	11.47	1.23	0.87
June	..	..	8.28	16.48	6.07	5.86	11.53	20.47	14.47	18.04	3.39	7.80
July	..	..	21.38	14.75	17.23	4.80	7.87	16.83	4.57	21.96	20.61	7.76
August	..	..	15.70	9.03	11.73	10.17	13.15	11.94	14.57	15.81	15.22	14.94
September	..	..	4.87	8.03	5.21	9.72	17.09	5.84	4.86	12.39	4.09	5.51
October	..	..	1.20	2.40	0.34	2.03	12.81	10.63	0.10	1.44	0.96	1.07
November	..	..	4.25	0.25	..	1.38	2.70	..	..	0.57	..	..
December	..	..	..	0.32	0.12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	..	62.54	63.52	57.36	45.09	72.82	82.37	44.76	88.37	53.49	41.30

Average for ten years 61.16.

APPENDIX VI.

Economic condition of the

Test

Serial number.	Name of head of family.	Number in family.		Area held. Acres.		Amount paid on account of rent and cess in cash or produce.	Cost of cultivation.				Total value of all crops including bye product.	Value of fruit and vegetable, bamboos etc	Value of fish and poultry.	
		Adults.	Children.	On cash rent.	On produce rent.		Actually paid for labour.	Estimated value of own labour.	Value of seed, manure, cattle and plough.	Cost of irrigation.			Consumed.	Sold.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
						Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Akshay Maji ..	3	2	266	..	10 0	..	20	75 0	..	183 0	6	..	6
2	Jaynath Sanuir ..	3	2	4	33	38 8	28	40	53 0	..	309 8	20	..	..
3	Radharaman Pal ..	4	1	2	2-3	73 0	20	75	35 0	..	250 0	10	..	..
4	Ashutosh Pal ..	3	1	3	3-06	102 0	54	48	40 0	10	640 0	..	..	..
5	Gour Ch. Pal ..	5	1	13-33	1-33	142 0	248	48	120 0	30	1,408 0	..	..	..
6	Natabar Roy ..	3	2	1-33	5-3	190 0	64	48	80 0	15	640 0	..	..	..
7	Jahad Mallick ..	5	..	3	..	63 11	15	45	15 0	3	354 0	12	18	..
8	Kali Charan Bose ..	4	2	1-33	33	17 0	..	21	8 0	2	160 0	..	12	..
9	Kalp Gom ..	5	..	2-27	4-33	156 0	..	65	30 0	5	546 0	..	12	..
10	Akshoy Heradu ..	3	1	6	5-3	186 0	15	25	63 0	..	600 0	20	10	..
11	Kali Pada Mandal ..	4	..	6	2-3	41 8	15	15	31 8	..	400 0	15	10	..
12	Babu Lal Ghosh ..	6	2	3-3	6-6	218 0	100	75	105 0	..	1,000 0	30	20	..

DIX VI.

cultivators—District Bankura.

Value of milk sold or consumed.	Any other supplementary income, e.g., from making baskets, etc.	Supplementary income from labour.	Total income (7-12).	Net income (deduct 5 and 6 from 13.)	Total debt.	Annual interest on debt.	Cost of food and tobacco.	Cost of clothing, bedding, etc.	Other necessities, utensils, kerosine oil, etc.	Cost of festivities, marriage and funeral expenses.	Cost of medicine.	Cost of building and repairs.	Educational charges.	Luxuries, Jatra, ornaments to women, furniture, etc.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A.
..	..	128	323 0	218 0 0	100	18 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	337 8	172 0 0	200	36 0	246	44	8 0	20	2	10	..	10 0
..	240	..	500 0	297 0 0	..	..	150	30	5 0	10	5	10	5	10 0
..	..	..	640 0	326 0 0	..	..	258	30	12 0	8	10	10	..	5 0
..	..	..	1,408 0	820 0 0	..	..	516	100	24 0	24	40	20	10	20 0
..	47	..	687 0	290 0 0	..	..	215	34	12 0	1	3	10	..	12 0
12	40	..	436 0	294 0 0	160	30 0	360	43	11 4	9	7	10	..	7 0
..	24	150	196 0	148 0 0	40	7 8	300	25	2 13	2	4	2	..	0 8
..	..	..	558 0	267 1 10	28	5 4	300	32	5 10	10	7	9	..	5 0
15	..	..	645 0	356 0 0	100	15 0	350	20	10 0	10	5	10	..	15 0
15	..	100	450 0	437 0 0	15	3 0	375	20	10 0	10	5	10	..	10 0
20	20	..	1,090 0	592 0 0	1,000	150 0	600	30	20 0	15	5	15	10	15 0

APPENDIX VII.

Statement of Ghatwali lands.

Serial No.	Thana.	Ghat.	Present Touzi.	Panchak formerly paid.	Total num- ber of Ghat- wals in Ghat.	Area.		Rent assessed in present proceeding.	New Touzi No.	Revenue.	Date of Register of indenture.
						As shown in collectorate register.	As shown in present proceed- ing.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
				Rs. A. P.				Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
1	Chhatna ..	Lori ..	938	28 9 7	12	979 8 14	349 59	250 8 3	1794	125 4 2	7 9 13
2	Do. ..	Arrah ..	938	158 2 10	13	2,982 17 15	1,315 40	711 4 3	1793	355 10 3	22 9 23
3	Ranibadha ..	Khursole ..	992	NH	1	23 11 14	7 77	18 15 3	1795	9 7 9	22 9 23
4	Do. ..	Jamgera ..	992	NH	3	1,146 19 4	416 76	95 4 4	1799	47 10 2	7 9 23
5	Raipore ..	Murajora ..	992	NH	2	407 4 4	10 40	18 8 9	1803	9 4 5	7 9 23
6	Do. ..	Ghorapota ..	992	NH	1	19 19 8	5 70	6 11 9	1800	3 5 11	7 9 23
7	Indpore ..	Ranjitpur ..	981	5 3 0	11	1,492 18 8	439 72	231 9 8	1802	115 12 10	15 2 24
8	Do. ..	Indpore ..	994	3 7 6	2	77 11 4	19 87	32 1 9	1794	16 0 11	24 9 23
9	Do. ..	Goadanga ..	982	1 10 6	2	88 4 10	25 62	12 2 6	1796	6 1 3	7 9 23
			989	1 5 3	1	35 15 0	10 20	6 7 6	1797	3 3 9	7 9 23
			988	9 9 0	1	233 7 4	96 30	58 1 9	1807	29 1 0	27 2 24
			983	7 15 4	5	608 7 12	177 03	99 8 3	1806	49 12 2	27 2 24
10	Do. ..	Lohat ..	989	50 15 11	54	4 401 6 9	1,492 65	830 13 6	1804	415 6 9	8 10 23
11	Khatra ..	Lalbazar ..	981	131 8 0	53	7,535 1 13	2,583 78	862 15 2	1816	431 7 7	....
12	Do. ..	Bauridilha ..	982	17 10 0	6	601 8 8	198 31	111 4 11	1808	38 9 0	20 3 24
13	Do. ..	Maslara ..	981	2 0 0	2	58 18 14	15 23	11 2 9	1811	5 9 6	18 2 24
			989	48 0 3	11	743 9 3	248 74	172 1 3	1810	86 0 9	8 10 23
			982	84 7 2	19	921 2 10	451 37	330 5 8	1 09	125 1 10	20 3 24
14	Do. ..	Palra ..	989	28 12 3	7	522 8 0	211 51	164 8 8	1812	82 4 6	8 10 23
15	Do. ..	Haludboni ..	984	12 0 0	5	170 18 2	122 44	43 6 6	1814	21 11 3	24 9 23
			989	3 0 0	4	138 4 8	98 81	47 8 6	1815	23 12 3	11 10 23
16	Saltora ..	Saltora ..	1805	NH	6	575 15 3	270 69	201 9 6	1813	100 12 0	15 2 24
17	Saltora, Mejia	Dhekia ..	1805	535 0 0	41	11,746 2 9	3,951 71	2,619 15 2	1857	1,309 15 7	6 1 25
18	Saltora, Mejhia Gangajalghati.	Bharrah ..	1805	560 7 9	27	28,987 6 1	6,287 48	3,833 7 5	..	1,916 11 9	6 1 25
19	Gangajalghati	Barjuri ..	2	50 10 6	1	1,184 12 8	494 53	287 9 8	..	143 12 10	....
20	Do. ..	Kanyamara ..	2	8 7 0	1	42 6 0	66 54	32 8 6	..	16 4 3	....
21	Do. ..	Ashanchun ..	2	15 9 0	9	1,355 7 6	484 36	353 8 10	..	176 12 5	....
22	Do. ..	Deshra ..	2	55 2 6	1	1,688 16 8	562 45	537 9 8	..	268 12 10	....
23	Do. ..	Taljharka ..	2	27 2 6	1	337 8 0	131 73	95 15 10	..	47 15 11	....
24	Do. ..	Natun Keshra	2	NH	1	NH	27 67	41 8 2	..	20 12 1	....
25	Do. ..	Bhaktabandh	2	11 0 0	1	492 12 7	781 47	494 4 10	..	247 2 5	....
26	Do. ..	Keshra ..	2	4 4 0	2	497 0 14	854 03	384 1 1	..	192 0 6	....
27	Do. ..	Metiala ..	2	5 9 0	1	2,048 11 8	123 92	79 11 0	..	39 13 6	....
28	Barjora ..	Adespore	9	NH	5	283 14 2	101 60	117 15 11	..	59 0 0	....
29	Do. ..	Ledakusum ..	9,10	NH	3	44 0 0	12 94	24 10 11	..	12 5 6	....
30	Do. ..	Pathrajuri ..	8	NH	1	29 9 8	8 94	17 6 0	..	8 11 0	22 1 25
31	Do. ..	Baharakhulia	9,10	NH	6	159 6 6	50 87	105 1 1	..	52 8 6	....
32	Do. ..	Digalgram ..	9	NH	2	283 4 4	74 38	45 15 0	..	22 15 6	....
33	Do. ..	Kochkora ..	9	18 6 0	8	358 6 0	119 50	146 4 8	..	73 2 4	....
34	Indas ..	Behar ..	1103	NH	1	NH	0 37	1 5 0	..	0 10 0	....
35	Joypur ..	Shyamnagar ..	13	NH	1	NH	0 66	1 11 3	..	0 13 7	....
				1 885 14 10	334	73,243 2 14	22,703 00	13,537 10 5	..	6,711 11 9	

APPENDIX VIII.

(a) Estates settled under Chapter X, Bengal Tenancy Act, during the present operation.

Tauzi No.	Name of estate.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue.	Malikana.	Previous Revenue.
	(a) Government Estates (10).	Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
959	Baliara	217.51	471 0 0	471 0 0	....	445 10 7
1018	Nabagram .. ..	.48	2 0 0	2 0 0	....	1 1 11
1049	Roadside land of Raniganj-Midnapore Road.	3.98	8 9 0	8 9 0	....	....
1050	Ditto	4.92	2 1 0	2 1 0	....	3 8 0
1068	Ditto	7.42	1 2 6	1 2 6	....	39 0 0
1069	Ditto	11.58	4 6 4	4 6 4	....	25 0 0
1071	Ditto	10.81	0 3 0	0 3 0	....	31 0 0
1076	Ditto	10.83	14 0 0	14 0 0	....	27 0 0
1077	Ditto	10.45	18 0 0	18 0 0	....	36 0 0
1082	Ditto	8.91	6 13 3	6 13 3	....	7 0 0
	(b) Temporarily-Settled Estates (9)					
1332	Damodar char Nityanandapur ..	224.79	255 12 0	204 9 0	10 4 0	200 0 0
1333	Damodar char Bilama ..	49.39	178 3 0	142 9 0	7 2 0	51 0 0
1335	Darakeswar char Khatnagar ..	77.76	352 1 0	282 0 0	14 2 0	100 0 0
1659	Damodar char Khanpara ..	214.26	11 12 0	9 6 0	0 7 0	5 12 0
1662	Damodar char Raghunathbati ..	77.21	29 4 0	23 6 0	1 3 0	....
1663	Damodar char Deoro ..	157.89	54 15 0	38 8 0	5 7 8	....
1664	Damodar char Sonadipa ..	129.91	37 1 0	29 10 0	1 8 0	....
1705	Darakeswar char Behar ..	100.02	90 4 0	72 0 0	3 10 0	157 8 0
1730	Damodar char Bhatpara ..	56.34	147 13 4	121 4 0	8 14 0	114 6 0

Temporarily-settled estates settled under Regulation VII of 1822 (25) (being sandy char growing grass and reeds and without tenants).

Tauzi No.	Name of estate.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue.	Malikana.	Previous Revenue.
1317	Damodar char Rangamatia ..	109.15	40 15 0	32 12 0	1 10 0	33 5 0
1320	Damodar char Srirampur ..	34.96	6 8 9	5 3 9	0 4 2	36 12 0
1321	Damodar char Ranprosadpur ..	5.25	0 15 9	0 12 8	0 0 8	13 1 0
1322	Damodar char Konurband ..	404.25	102 12 0	82 3 0	4 2 0	90 0 0
1323	Damodar char Pursha ..	69.00	12 15 0	9 1 0	3 0 4	305 0 0
1327	Damodar char Dihipara ..	1618.48	811 10 0	649 5 0	32 7 0	631 15 0
1328	Damodar char Kasba ..	1201.29	300 0 9	240 0 0	12 0 0	450 0 0
1330	Damodar char Krishnagar ..	161.15	60 7 0	42 5 0	14 1 8	54 1 0
1334	Bodai char Kadaghata ..	4.30	12 9 0	9 8 0	0 8 0	9 0 0
1656	Damodar char Bilrampur ..	62.74	10 15 0	8 12 0	0 7 0	....
1660	Damodar char Tasali ..	317.64	7 14 6	6 5 0	0 5 0	....
1661	Damodar char Ghoradanga ..	308.68	28 5 0	22 10 0	1 2 0	....
1665	Damodar char Butaspur ..	130.39	12 3 0	9 12 0	0 8 0	....
1666	Damodar char Ajapur ..	30.54	2 13 0	2 4 0	0 2 0	....
1667	Damodar char Deulpara ..	95.08	8 14 6	7 2 0	0 6 0	....
1668	Damodar char Talsara ..	6.04	3 0 0	2 6 0	0 2 0	....
1669	Damodar char Panchpara ..	52.45	19 11 0	15 12 0	0 13 0	....
1670	Damodar char Ojitpara ..	20.34	10 2 0	8 2 0	0 6 0	....
1671	Damodar char Mahmudpur ..	89.85	33 12 0	27 0 0	1 6 0	....
1727	Damodar char Rangamatia ..	17.48	3 4 6	2 8 0	0 2 0	5 4 0
1728	Boflai char Makarkara ..	33.25	6 4 1	4 5 0	0 4 0	14 12 0
1771	Damodar char Arjunpur ..	93.78	35 2 0	24 10 0	3 8 0	10 0 0
1783	Island char in Damodar facing village Pratappur.	34.00	25 8 0	20 6 5	1 0 4	50 0 0
1789	Damodar char Dayalpur ..	135.73	25 7 0	19 6 0	1 0 0	26 4 0
1801	Island char in Damodar facing village Nutangram.	96.00	72 0 0	57 9 7	2 14 1	....

(b) Government estates not yet due for re-settlement.

Tauzi No.	Nature of estate.	Date on which settlement expires.	Area.	Revenue.	
			Acres.	Rs. A. P.	
227	Nekrakonda	31-3-25	122.22	116 10 3	
455	Khiraiboni	31-3-25	787.48	344 7 5	
488	Koranibazar	31-3-30	.030	30 0 0	
490	Chati Madangopalpur	31-3-30	.120	16 0 0	
1033	Roadside lands	31-3-25	9.93	0 0 0	
1036	Raniganj-Midnapore Road	Do.	8.86	19 0 0	
1038	Ditto	Do.	11.22	25 15 0	
1039	Ditto	Do.	9.71	24 10 0	
1042	Gopalpur	31-3-27	9.37	1 4 0	
1044	Roadside lands of Raniganj	31-3-27	.67	0 5 0	
1045	Midnapore Road	Do.	10.35	134 1 0	
1046	Ditto	Do.	9.93	1 6 0	
1047	.....	.....	1.05	12 1 0	
1048	.....	.....	9.72	7 7 0	
1092	Abolished Municipal outpost, Bankura.	31-3-31	.138	36 0 0	
1724	Simandari lands in mauza Charigram	31-3-24	16.96	64 8 0	
1726	Simandari lands in mauza Baikunthapur.	Do.	3.47	13 0 0	
1790	Office of Co-operative Union in Kutchery compound.	31-3-51	.33	30 0 0	
1791	Bankura Club land	For as long as the club shall exist.	.40	37 8 0	
1683	Jail Sanitary camping ground at Bankura.	....	47.60	....	Kept free of demand, vide Commissioner's No. 31R.G., dated 17th May 1911.
1276	Musafirkhana	31-3-23	.245	14 2 0	
1277	Ditto	Do.	0.1	2 0 0	
1278	Ditto	Do.	.11	5 0 0	
1281	Municipal Office	So long as in occupation of Municipality.	.29	1 0 0	
1282	Triangular land in Kutchery compound.	31-7-28	.325	30 0 0	
1748	Dwelling house of Ananda Biswas, Talpur, Bankura.	31-3-30	.41	19 10 0	
1772	Plot of land within Kutchery compound.	31-3-46	.26	2 4 0	
1792	M. E. School, Bankura	31-3-72	.93	5 0 0	
1684	Camping ground at Bishnupur	Kept free of demand.	4.56	....

Temporarily-settled estates not yet due for re-settlement.

Tauzi No.	Nature of estate.	Date when period of settlement will expire.	Area.	Revenue.	
			Acres.	Rs. A. P.	
1124	Char lands in Darkeswar River in Chatra and Suklai.	31-3-30	6.06	7 0 0	
1126	Abantica char on Darkeswar River	31-3-25	194.2	140 13 4	
1329	Damodar char Maliara	31-3-33	879.0	582 5 0	
1774	Char land in River Gandeswari near Bankura.	31-3-30	4.83	6 11 0	

(c) List of Diara estates newly settled during present operations.

Tauzi No.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue to be paid by the Settlement holder.	Malikana.	Remarks.
	Acres. Decimal.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1817 ..	173 11	125 10 6	100 8 0	5 0 5	} River Bodai.
1818 ..	41 26	7 10 3	6 2 0	0 5 0	
1819 ..	51 19	16 0 0	12 13 0	0 10 3	
1820 ..	20 86	26 1 0	20 14 0	1 0 8	
1821 ..	60 29	175 15 0	140 12 0	7 0 7	
1822 ..	671 79	987 12 0	790 3 3	39 8 3	} River Darakeswar.
1823 ..	94 51	148 10 0	119 0 0	6 0 0	
1824 ..	213 31	240 2 11	192 0 0	9 10 0	
1825 ..	127 75	216 2 0	173 0 0	8 10 0	
1826 ..	71 29	140 5 0	112 0 0	5 10 0	
1827 ..	268 31	188 3 0	151 0 0	7 9 0	(Allowance to proprietor at Rs. 20.)
1828 ..	59 00	33 8 0	27 0 0	1 6 0	
1829 ..	99 30	46 7 4	37 0 0	1 14 10	
1830 ..	6 25	4 1 0	7 0 0	0 6 0	
1831 ..	12 74	3 8 3	2 8 0	1 0 3	
1832 ..	23 59	36 7 0	29 0 0	1 5 0	
1833 ..	59 20	52 2 9	42 0 0	2 2 0	
1834 ..	87 16	36 8 0	29 0 0	1 7 0	
1835 ..	372 03	535 9 0	428 0 0	21 6 0	
1836 ..	15 62	30 10 0	24 8 0	1 3 6	
1837 ..	21 49	8 1 0	5 10 0	0 9 0	
	2,550 05		2,449 14 3	123 10 11	
			123 10 11		
			2,326 3 4		

(d) List of estates found to have diluviated at the time of the present settlement.

Tauzi No.	Nature of Estate.
464 ..	.. Government Estate Palashdanga in Sonamukhi and Barjora Thanas.
1686 ..	.. Government Estate Chhotajagle in Kotulpur Thana.
1316 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Damodar Char Madhabpur.
1687 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Bhasapur Guhagram in Sadar Thana.
1674 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Damodar Char Saldanga.
1325 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Damodar Char Saldanga.
1326 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Damodar Char Bharatpur.
1319 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Damodar Char Beldanga.
1657 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Damodar Char Puratangram.
1658 ..	.. Temporarily settled Estate Damodar Char Gopedal.

All these estates have been since removed from the revenue roll of the district under orders of the Board of Revenue.

The following temporarily settled estates were not recorded as their proprietors were found to have been dispossessed by the proprietors of neighbouring estates.

1486 ..	.. Damodar Char Majit.
1487 ..	.. Damodar Char Dhenua.
1654 ..	.. Damodar Char Shyamdihi.
1655 ..	.. Damodar Char Hirapur.

In these cases the proprietors were unable to identify the lands of their estates, or point out any lands in their possession as being the lands comprised in these estates. The proprietors are still paying revenue to Government.

The following Government estate in Sadar Thana could not be traced:—

Tauzi No. 842 ..	Aima Paharpur.
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Name and J. L. Nos. of villages.	In the direct occupation of— <i>cond.</i>				Ralyats rent free.		Ralyats at fixed rent or rate of rent (cash).			
	Tenure holders on rent in kind or combined cash and kind.		Other classes.							
	No. of Interests.	Area.	No. of Interests.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BLOCK A.										
Thana—										
Raipore ..	221	2,236.48	302	1,105.50	9	4.10	1,870	8,731.57	9,257 4 7	1 1 2
Simlapal ..	436	3,075.23	100	574.65	..	..	553	2,619.65	2,494 3 10	0 15 3
Ranibandh ..	101	2,568.29	251	1,324.32	1	.89	541	4,236.51	2,094 13 7	0 7 11
Khatra ..	433	6,293.05	198	1,747.56	34	16.76	1,309	5,535.30	3,801 15 11	0 11 0
Chhatna ..	108	2,333.47	130	856.51	15	4.09	1,763	8,235.81	6,334 10 0	0 12 4
Indpore ..	427	3,979.61	179	1,715.98	6	1.42	1,376	7,215.81	4,554 1 3	0 10 2
Total ..	1,816	20,486.13	1,160	7,324.52	65	27.26	7,412	36,574.65	28,537 1 2	0 12 2
BLOCK B.										
Thana—										
Mejhia ..	5	116.77	92	349.70	..	..	633	1,939.23	3,561 1 2	1 13 5
Salto:a ..	32	10.43	361	1,371.81	..	..	1,207	6,007.59	11,395 12 9	1 14 4
Total ..	37	127.20	353	1,721.51	..	..	1,840	7,946.82	14,956 13 11	..
BLOCK C.										
Thana—										
Gangajal Ghati ..	82	758.39	161	732.66	..	..	1,356	5,199.54	8,554 11 5	1 10 3
Barjora ..	55	198.69	182	312.97	..	..	3,471	9,246.81	19,001 5 9	1 13 4
Taldangra ..	60	295.45	132	1,690.54	..	..	1,146	7,208.02	5,061 1 1	0 11 3
Onda ..	538	2,433.81	373	384.14	..	..	3,784	11,132.91	22,661 5 5	2 0 0
Bankura ..	577	3,896.215	310	626.825	..	..	1,805	10,797.088	11,478 4 0	1 0 0
Total ..	1,312	7,584.555	1,158	3,747.135	..	..	11,562	43,584.368	1,41,756 11 6	..
BLOCK D.										
Thana—										
Sonamukhi ..	3	221.60	137	103.335	..	..	5,859	11,101.270	23,296 10 6	2 0 0
Patrasair ..	3	86.82	183	432.285	1	.36	7,916	13,366.612	50,885 6 6	3 0 0
Indas ..	4	.84	116	147.88	..	..	9,444	17,235.28	72,621 9 6	4 5 0
Kotalpur ..	4	1.16	71	112.32	..	..	5,920	11,077.15	54,090 6 2	5 15 0
Siromanipur ..	14	.41	100	118.74	..	..	9,649	13,582.89	62,814 14 9	4 10 0
Joypur ..	2	..	26	61.73	..	..	3,895	6,433.78	27,428 11 6	4 6 0
Vishnupur ..	54	87.09	64	150.160	..	..	1,161	4,420.820	6,173 0 0	1 6 0
Radhanagar ..	49	58.98	166	234.96	..	..	3,041	9,110.31	19,485 2 8	2 2 0
Total ..	133	456.40	863	1,351.410	1	.36	46,885	86,328.112	3,16,795 13 1	..
Block A ..	1,816	20,486.13	1,160	7,324.52	65	27.26	7,412	36,574.65	28,551 1 2	12 3 0
„ B ..	37	127.20	453	1,721.51	..	..	1,840	7,946.82	14,956 13 11	1 13 10
„ C ..	1,312	7,584.55	1,158	3,747.135	..	..	11,562	43,584.368	1,41,746 11 6	1 7 3
„ D ..	133	456.40	163	1,361.410	1	.36	46,885	86,328.112	3,16,775 13 1	3 6 9
Total ..	3,298	28,654.285	3,634	14,154.575	66	27.62	6,799	174,433.750	5,02,046 7 8	2 15 10

IX.

Bankura.

Register.

Settled and occupancy ralyats (cash rent).				Non-occupancy ralyats (cash rent).				Settled and occupancy ralyats on fixed produce rent.	
No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	No. of holdings.	Area.
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		
20,372	47,138.44	43,087 0 10	0 14 8	191	307.57	271 10 0	0 14 1	3,420	6,099.48
5,524	9,175.98	6,988 10 7	0 12 2	48	277.64	152 12 2	0 8 9	1,056	2,538.14
7,743	33,316.83	16,332 8 11	0 7 10	153	521.57	374 1 7	0 11 5	504	2,121.57
9,844	25,260.13	16,806 11 0	0 10 8	74	221.09	78 11 10	0 5 8	1,025	2,591.41
10,647	27,521.91	23,411 8 11	0 13 7	161	160.67	58 3 0	0 5 9	932	1,917.71
6,814	15,826.88	12,799 0 1	0 12 10	107	294.48	66 1 10	0 3 7	1,382	3,454.12
60,944	158,246.12	1,19,425 8 4	0 12 1	734	1,783.02	1,001 9 2	0 9 0	8,319	18,722.43
8,895	13,746.24	2,04,552 1 8	2 2 3	50	162.38	155 8 9	0 15 4	229	227.93
13,926	30,213.12	34,289 5 3	1 12 9	141	372.00	793 0 6	2 2 1	290	418.40
22,821	43,959.36	83,744 8 11	....	191	534.38	948 9 3	....	519	646.35
18,081	31,599.17	66,241 0 2	2 6 0	136	243.29	331 5 8	....	1,787	2,457.14
6,462	22,052.61	38,217 15 11	1 10 0	755	243.22	549 4 0	....	4,675	5,088.57
8,789	21,133.59	15,090 1 3	1 11 9	77	202.08	23 9 9	....	2,276	3,799.69
20,558	31,299.14	51,896 14 0	1 10 0	132	298.00	293 0 4	....	5,223	7,835.74
13,650	23,028.323	34,678 10 11	1 9 0	66	269.90	115 7 9	....	4,438	7,590.269
07,540	129,622.833	2,06,720 10 3	....	1,166	1,256.49	1,312 11 6	....	18,399	26,771.409
13,367	16,662.208	39,282 5 11	2 5 0	130	184.92	296 9 6	....	1,742	2,338.350
20,460	18,459.981	62,236 2 3	3 6 0	72	74.23	148 11 3	....	2,267	1,576.820
18,600	18,089.09	81,808 6 7	4 5 0	365	265.09	892 4 5	....	1,620	1,254.30
20,947	18,543.82	86,083 14 10	4 9 0	249	200.61	493 10 7	....	2,496	1,163.40
12,415	9,982.94	41,531 14 7	4 3 0	9	12.65	64 0 0	....	3,516	1,773.13
8,627	7,601.83	28,743 9 8	3 14 0	47	28.99	86 8 5	....	1,955	1,257.07
8,139	12,246.73	18,865 10 5	1 9 0	131	169.74	193 0 3	....	1,342	1,773.025
14,207	19,878.40	44,161 10 5	2 3 0	39	72.16	115 1 2	....	3,747	4,312.54
116,762	122,364.992	8,02,013 7 10	....	1,042	1,012.39	2,289 13 7	....	18,685	15,448.635
60,944	158,246.12	1,19,425 8 4	11 11 0	734	1,783.02	1,001 9 2	8 3 0	8,319	18,722.43
22,821	43,959.36	83,744 8 11	2 0 6	191	534.38	948 9 3	1 8 10	519	646.35
07,540	129,622.833	2,06,720 10 3	1 8 7	1,166	1,256.49	1,312 11 6	1 0 5	18,399	26,771.409
116,762	122,064.992	4,02,013 7 10	3 4 10	1,042	1,012.39	2,289 13 7	2 8 4	1,868	15,448.635
268,007	453,893.305	8,11,904 8 4	1 13 9	3,133	4,586.28	5,552 11 6	....	45,922	61,588.82

Name and J. L. No. of villages.	Settled and occupancy rilyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy rilyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy rilyats on share of produce rent.		Settled and occupancy rilyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Non-occupancy rilyats on combined cash and produce rent.	
	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.
	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
BLOCK A.										
Thana—										
Raipore ..	2,063	2 815·30	23	23·99	67	132·01	1,031	6,354·39	21	66·00
Simlapal ..	1,134	1,757·02	21	81·41	34	68·29	1,016	4,905·94	....	..
Ranibandh ..	734	1,336·88	16	58·84	23	26·78	427	5,387·26	5	45·92
Khatra ..	2,280	3,396·06	10	32·03	82	152·13	564	3,053·56	3	1·88
Chhatna ..	1,319	1,354·90	14	8·58	121	321·22	710	3,910·32	6	29·69
Indpore ..	798	1,064·37	28	46·13	95	100·47	543	2,481·24	11	60·71
Total ..	8,298	11,724·53	112	250·98	422	806·90	4,291	26,692·71	46	203·76
BLOCK B.										
Thana—										
Melhia ..	336	247·65	5	9·80	47	31·58	22	31·82	....	..
Saltora ..	577	655·41	..	..	18	33·47	60	200·11	4	7·29
Total ..	913	903·06	5	9·80	65	65·05	82	231·93	4	7·29
BLOCK C.										
Thana—										
Gangajal Ghatl ..	1,176	1,010·36	17	24·43	53	46·87	500	1,901·35	5	15·19
Barjora ..	1,966	1,685·65	54	55·22	252	225·59	1,181	3,305·32	19	52·88
Taldangra ..	952	1,362·86	58	64·19	171	236·25	937	4,239·35	....	..
Onda ..	2,279	2,818·02	41	79·05	79	88·65	1,569	5,597·19	9	16·80
Bankura ..	1,286	1,155·261	14	23·70	43	57·03	1,218	5,372·423	....	..
Total ..	7,659	8,032·151	184	246·59	598	654·39	5,405	20,475·635	33	84·93
BLOCK D.										
Thana—										
Sonamukhi ..	2,411	2,270·410	2	1·44	17	32·93	247	893·71	1	1·11
Patrasair ..	3,740	2,060·055	4	2·92	26	31·69	573	783·95	2	·83
Indas ..	1,775	1,079·32	38	16·51	79	49·21	603	1,863·75	3	1·52
Kotalpur ..	744	481·78	30	13·50	38	26·71	585	986·76	....	..
Siromanipur ..	672	363·50	..	....	5	4·39	430	580·41	....	..
Joypur ..	620	447·68	3	2·47	13	5·81	241	291·67	....	..
Vishnupur ..	..	2,521·875	14	22·78	118	178·58	443	1,128·175	4	21·88
Radhanagar ..	2,415	2,026·93	8	13·43	71	82·57	1,182	2,541·03	2	18·26
Total ..	15,011	11,251·550	99	73·05	367	409·89	4,308	9,069·455	12	43·60
Block A ..	8,298	11,724·53	112	250·98	422	806·90	4,291	26,692·71	46	203·76
„ B ..	913	903·06	5	9·80	65	65·05	82	231·93	4	7·29
„ C ..	7,659	8,032·151	184	246·59	598	654·39	5,405	20,475·633	33	84·93
„ D ..	15,011	11,251·550	99	73·05	367	409·89	4,304	9,069·455	12	43·60
Total ..	31,881	31,911·291	400	580·42	1,452	1,936·23	14,082	56,469·728	95	339·58

IX.

Bankura.

Register.

Other classes.		Occupants service.		Other occupants.			Under Raiyat.		
							With rights of occupancy (on cash rent).		
No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
						Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.
13	16.96	465	285.60	1,302	222.18	280 9 10	1,006	1,800.07	2,345 13 6
106	295.10	175	189.05	224	116.50	116 7 6	845	320.86	410 7 1
1	.06	71	56.14	482	145.54	225 0 11	376	766.72	510 5 2
15	11.21	274	173.93	1,122	224.91	370 12 8	517	600.22	446 8 8
18	40.12	615	222.45	937	186.97	211 8 5	829	704.07	701 11 8
16	6.79	408	196.03	904	127.48	191 0 5	914	503.02	676 8 6
169	370.24	2,008	1,123.20	4,971	1,023.58	1,395 7 9	4,487	4,694.96	5,090 6 7
.....	..	518	191.73	490	91.37	486 6 10	462	117.96	472 13 3
2	113	431	375.15	492	151.55	244 12 6	889	539.48	1,263 1 3
2	113	949	566.88	962	242.92	731 3 4	1,351	657.44	1,736 1 4
.....	.....	1,068	822.69	547	146.35	179 3 10	1,376	698.63	1,902 15 0
14	175.31	1,081	444.10	1,888	1,362.66	1,622 10 5	1,556	825.00	2,133 5 9
.....	.....	284	140.98	258	61.00	56 13 2	1,607	1,198.49	153 11 5
.....	.....	1,071	320.99	638	540.74	809 8 9	2,840	1,150.62	4,245 6 3
.....	.....	1,500	393.544	5,275	765.694	5,596 13 8	2,048	1,026.034	2,782 0 9
14	175.31	5,004	1,722.304	8,606	2,876.444	8,265 1 10	9,429	4,907.954	12,595 7 4
.....	.....	782	414.915	692	79.987	844 0 10	478	96.790	313 2 11
.....	.....	1,361	403.640	776	102.557	1,163 9 6	356	60.630	411 10 7
.....	.....	1,120	387.46	922	129.44	652 7 3	1,040	115.08	1,151 6 10
.....	.....	661	499.22	1,307	141.88	1,042 2 11	776	128.01	893 9 4
.....	.....	350	89.11	668	165.85	291 7 2	132	16.95	147 6 11
.....	.....	382	120.34	630	161.06	430 13 10	899	206.75	1,247 3 1
1	.84	572	87.475	5,264	986.328	2,119 10 5	866	391.27	857 7 11
.....	.....	1,217	517.95	573	162.43	314 4 5	327	92.87	636 15 1
1	.84	6,445	2,529.110	10,832	1,929.532	6,538 8 6	4,874	1,108.350	5,658 13 8
169	87,024	2,008	1,123.20	4,971	1,023.58	1,395 7 9	4,487	4,694.96	5,090 6 7
2	1.13	949	566.88	962	242.92	731 3 4	1,351	657.44	1,736 1 4
14	17,531	5,004	1,722.304	8,606	2,876.444	8,265 4 10	9,429	4,907.756	12,595 7 4
1	.84	6,885	2,529.110	1,832	1,929.532	6,538 8 6	4,874	1,008.350	5,658 14 8
186	547.62	14,406	5,941.494	25,371	6,072.476	16,030 8 5	20,141	11,368.504	25,080 13 11

APPENDIX X.**Thanawar Jungle area in the District of Bankura.**

Thana name.	Total area.	Jungle area in acres.	Percentage of jungle to total area.
Raipur	1,45,332·51	23,359·85	15·4
Sim'apal	76,403·14	23,722·16	31
Ranibandh	1,05,874·87	30,777·22	29
Khatra	1,06,550·12	20,685·36	19·4
Chhatna	1,10,688·31	13,613·89	12·3
Indpur	74,192·49	13,842·61	17·3
Mejhia	40,246·15	478·18	1·2
Saltora	77,751·54	6,366·17	8·2
Gangajalghati	91,694·9	20,609·48	22·4
Barjora	97,193·65	23,916·92	24·6
Taldangra	86,421·93	26,282·73	30·4
Onda	1,24,104·82	35,445·65	28·5
Bankura	1,00,952·14	26,282·73	26
Sadar Subdivision	12,37,406·54	2,54,938·9	20·6
Sonamukhi	67,917·38	11,036·89	16·2
Patrasair	66,594·7	7,277·83	11
Indas	63,023·51	1·70	....
Kotulpur	46,048·78	18·93	....
Siromanipur	37,886·52	1,557·54	4·1
Joypur	33,558·65	8,093·24	24·1
Bishnupur	63,058·35	21,453·65	34
Radhanagar	76,548·64	28,588·45	37·3
Bishnupur Subdivision	45,635·91	78,028·23	17·1
District Total ..	16,94,042·45	3,32,967·15	19·6

APPENDIX XI.

Block.	Area in square miles.	Number of plots.	Number of interests.	Average number of plots per interest.	Number of circles.		Number of halkas.	Number of rent disp tes.		Section 109C cases.	Section 58 cases
					Cadastral.	Attestation.		Fixed rent.	Rent-free and other.		
A	967·25	10,26,398	1,50,626	7	10	10	55	615	914	1	8
B	184·37 (Bankura)	10,47,647	2,19,972	5	10	10	60	1,793	178	11	..
	121·91 (Asansol)							5,822	11,247		
C ..	781·82	11,59,291	2,26,043	5	10	12	60	8,163	11,995	9	2
D ..	713·49	12,89,347	3,32,348	4	10	13	65	12,455	9,974	..	..
Total ..	3,268·84	45,22,683	9,30,569	5	..	..	..	28,848	34,308	21	10

APPENDIX XI.

Name and J. L. Nos. of villages.	Number of estate.	In the direct							
		Proprietor.				Rent free tenure holders.		Service tenure holders.	
		No. of interests.	Area.			No. of interests.	Area.	No. of interests.	Area.
			Waste and jungles.	Nij dakhil	Bhinnya dakhil.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BLOCK A.									
Thana—									
Raipore	588	3,033.98	3,096.68	1,192.31	1,830	1,614.57	1	....
Simlapal	274	12,935.18	3,082.83	837.48	941	930.34	....	....
Ranibandh	270	11,073.85	1,940.44	403.45	336	382.97	1	88
Khatra	384	350.00	600.03	353.03	1,437	1,136.13	13	4.00
Chhatna	423	11.67	136.02	556.38	2,289	3,286.19	14	3.58
Indpore	339	163.00	219.02	509.50	1,312	2,063.51	3	52
Total	2,278	27,567.68	2,675.02	3,862.15	8,145	9,413.71	32	8.93
BLOCK B.									
Thana—									
Mejhia	193	492.75	409.92	204.64	2,245	3,576.40	....	....
Saltora	242	9.52	65.32	38.51	1,913	5,850.60	....	....
Total	432	502.27	475.24	243.15	4,158	9,436.00	....	....
BLOCK C.									
Thana—									
Gangajal Ghati	465	9,220.06	1,767.55	887.05	3,803	4,205.27	5	8.05
Barjora	853	7,265.08	3,821.53	1,830.04	8,044	6,836.96	88	59.46
Taldangra	469	612.64	675.99	552.37	1,163	1,022.31	....	....
Onda	1,020	3,248.70	1,556.40	635.89	5,058	4,369.84	1	61
Bankura	818	2,351.646	601.411	283.982	4,018	3,864.536	23	6.66
Total	3,625	22,698.126	8,422.881	4,189.332	22,086	20,358.886	117	77.78
BLOCK D.									
Thana—									
Sonamukhi	720	5,137.530	2,727.830	801.020	5,315	4,765.930	16	4.32
Patrasair	653	3,349.68	2,126.64	778.410	9,704	5,820.439	....	....
Indas	1,269	311.68	2,284.15	350.60	11,556	8,468.85	1	07
Kotalpur	578	273.52	510.43	257.12	8,822	6,094.84	7	3.17
Siromanipur	367	2,059.95	779.48	210.16	6,373	4,814.80	....	....
Joypur	208	4,221.24	1,170.88	352.48	3,021	3,121.02	5	6.26
Vishnupur	386	9,052.041	1,306.534	904.205	1,837	1,782.815	2	03
Radhanagar	469	4,433.49	1,276.16	500.18	5,865	4,886.76	1	....
Total	4,646	28,839.131	12,182.104	4,214.235	51,993	39,754.454	32	13.85
Block A									
.. B	435	502.27	475.24	243.15	4,158	9,436.00	....	....
.. C	3,625	22,698.126	8,422.881	4,189.332	22,086	20,358.886	117	77.78
.. D	4,646	28,839.131	12,182.108	4,214.235	51,993	39,754.454	32	13.85
Total	10,984	79,007.207	30,755.245	12,503.867	86,382	78,968.050	181	100.56

21.

Bankura.

Register.

Occupation of

Permanent tenure holders at fixed rents or rates.				Permanent tenure holders not at fixed rents or rates.				Temporary tenure holders.	
No. of Interests.	Area.			No. of Interests.	Area.			No. of Interests.	Area.
	Waste and jungles.	Nijdakhal.	Bhinnya dakhal.		Waste and jungles.	Nijdakhal.	Bhinnya dakhal.		
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1,848	10,437-63	20,426-46	2,101-79	2,105	5,604-04	14,948-22	1,628-07	68	162-36
997	9,172-65	13,509-99	683-14	670	1,131-49	6,491-90	166-06	20	306-98
680	15,495-15	15,351-09	1,730-22	326	1,878-75	3,831-98	296-77	67	983-64
3,233	19,703-72	26,621-56	2,071-44	597	1,339-34	3,325-75	158-62	55	723-31
2,588	14,703-45	28,137-51	4,806-13	841	2,925-78	6,856-79	456-33	89	475-50
2,132	7,849-76	17,935-78	833-45	776	2,147-78	5,130-70	229-64	63	254-54
11,363	77,362-42	121,982-39	12,226-17	5,315	15,027-13	40,585-34	2,935-49	362	2,906-23
1,139	2,770-46	6,135-28	697-59	357	79-19	388-08	46-12	64	1,098-47
1,578	9,430-12	14,096-74	2,419-29	320	452-02	1,552-34	89-22	105	1,053-96
2,713	12,200-58	20,231-02	3,116-88	677	541-21	1,940-42	135-34	169	2,142-43
2,232	12,110-23	9,977-49	1,064-75	1,109	3,952-46	2,223-92	91-97	76	1,242-19
2,476	7,454-42	6,027-08	028-15	1,753	6,929-13	1,863-95	276-66	103	1,953-59
2,479	13,196-90	10,819-59	1,271-75	2,147	9,045-57	7,981-51	426-28	32	147-57
3,234	1,530-52	8,846-79	1,405-19	4,030	15,429-09	6,403-31	399-19	46	431-93
3,625	10,904-874	14,984-020	1,386-147	2,516	4,191-090	4,329-560	379-577	83	292-82
14,046	59,034-004	50,654-970	5,755-187	11,555	39,547-280	22,802-250	1,573-677	340	4,068-10
1,586	2,404-379	5,091-821	687-193	..	1,430-900	2,586-175	61-455	25	948-61
2,040	4,427-910	4,025-812	998-021	1,501	1,460-935	997-453	212-430	6	58-84
2,840	1,446-23	3,704-85	1,572-83	689	85-74	407-85	64-64	17	6-35
1,195	1,227-18	2,420-64	1,076-05	719	193-84	525-65	16-47	21	132-92
1,125	902-00	1,315-41	029-23	625	158-48	321-28	12-59	3	5-31
1,158	1,610-93	2,617-65	312-77	531	2,886-66	782-01	29-27	6	-23
1,850	13,678-205	4,194-385	593-637	1,424	4,579-194	1,688-098	195-053	23	32-99
1,310	1,853-32	2,936-12	849-35	2,229	7,002-45	1,875-81	114-82	18	12-41
12,104	39,259-154	26,306-688	6,719-133	8,905	17,798-199	9,184-326	706-730	119	1,197-56
11,363	77,362-42	121,982-39	12,226-17	5,315	15,027-13	40,585-34	2,935-49	362	2,906-23
2,713	12,200-58	20,231-02	3,116-88	677	541-21	1,940-42	135-34	169	2,142-43
14,046	59,034-004	50,654-970	5,755-987	11,555	39,547-280	22,802-250	1,573-677	340	4,068-10
12,104	39,259-154	26,306-688	6,719-133	8,905	17,798-199	9,184-326	706-730	119	1,197-56
40,226	187,866-158	219,175-068	27,818-170	26,351	72,913-499	74,512-336	5,351-237	990	10,314-42

Name and J. L. Nos. of villages.	Under								
	Without rights of occupancy (on cash rent).			With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occu- pancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occu- pancy (share of produce rent).	
	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.
	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69
BLOCK A.			Rs. A. P.						
Thana—									
Raipore ..	1,463	1,875·18	1,999 11 11	216	359·98	516	804·77	898	1,063·38
Simlapal ..	341	149·87	154 0 7	105	185·53	147	267·58	495	574·35
Ranibandh ..	1,926	2,235·22	1,486 15 5	34	102·47	196	492·21	289	395·76
Khatra ..	1,531	1,340·78	1,141 11 3	22	51·42	207	658·23	651	894·92
Chhatna ..	856	530·75	625 13 0	83	119·26	179	209·84	344	322·47
Indpore ..	784	346·55	387 11 5	134	197·05	289	428·54	341	287·55
Total ..	6,901	6,478·35	5,752 14 7	598	1,015·71	1,534	2,861·17	2,923	3,538·53
BLOCK B.									
Thana—									
Majhia ..	900	492·80	1,385 14 9	12	19·48	98	76·13	216	151·79
Sattora ..	1,025	697·68	2,003 1 1	14	35·54	70	91·66	181	224·58
Total ..	1,925	1,190·48	3,338 15 10	26	55·02	174	167·79	397	376·37
BLOCK C.									
Thana—									
Gangajal Ghati ..	1,688	758·72	1,559 4 9	146	217·93	601	578·91	843	641·74
Barjora ..	1,588	554·20	618 5 8	106	118·88	945	632·29	1,648	1,014·58
Taldangra ..	578	482·78	470 6 11	473	525·50	275	499·83	187	245·69
Onda ..	2,291	1,259·58	3,023 4 3	617	513·39	1,322	1,467·12	1,107	1,050·79
Bankura ..	1,443	695·849	1,436 11 0	1,552	1,536·512	783	625·276	197	752·224
Total ..	7,538	3,751·129	7,108 0 9	2,954	2,912·212	3,876	3,808·426	3,982	3,705·024
BLOCK D.									
Thana—									
Sonamukhi ..	2,099	944·445	3,800 6 4	11	13·93	691	781·150	1,982	1,621·270
Patrasair ..	2,823	789·409	4,966 1 10	44	14·91	622	456·220	2,619	1,769·215
Indas ..	1,615	547·10	3,155 8 9	21	11·78	2 9	132·44	607	401·83
Kotalpur ..	2,023	475·27	3,586 2 4	49	24·96	182	113·35	809	453·08
Siromanipur ..	2,195	503·63	4,077 12 5	11	5·55	710	455·60	542	354·98
Joypur ..	986	256·12	1,699 14 8	200	117·04	324	192·39	598	330·71
Vlahnupur ..	703	314·175	589 15 8	475	858·045	435	470·500	1,520	1,116·265
Radhanagar ..	2,880	1,202·22	5,525 6 6	54	13·93	1,608	1,840·92	1,294	949·86
Total ..	15,324	5,032·869	2,740 4 6	865	560·145	4,839	3,942·500	9,971	6,997·210
Block A ..	6,901	6,478·35	5,752 14 7	598	1,015·71	1,534	2,861·17	2,723	3,538·53
" B ..	1,925	1,190·48	3,338 15 10	26	55·02	174	167·79	397	376·37
" C ..	7,538	3,751·129	7,108 0 9	2,954	2,912·212	3,876	3,808·426	3,982	3,705·024
" D ..	15,324	5,032·869	2,740 4 6	865	560·145	4,839	3,942·570	9,471	6,997·210
Total ..	31,698	16,452·328	48,571 13 6	4,443	4,543·087	10,423	16,774·956	17,273	14,617·184

XI:

Bankura.

Register.

Balyat—concl'd.						Area un-occupied (i.e., area out side the record).	Area occupied for public purposes.	Total area of the village.	
With rights of occupancy (combined cash and produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (combined cash and produce rent).		Niskar.					
No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.				
70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	
								Area.	Interest.
69	286.77	108	422.49	138	24.47	4,440.06	497.65	145,332.51	42,134
27	97.01	37	162.06	21	15.14	1,384.26	96.24	76,03.14	15,290
11	37.83	98	425.65	60	8.65	1,087.74	270.59	105,874.87	15,673
36	150.93	119	382.88	172	17.96	624.85	221.83	106,550.12	26,241
21	56.93	16	79.78	283	76.97	430.98	787.58	110,688.31	26,431
115	410.73	92	285.90	2.9	20.40	....	277.87	74,192.49	20,651
279	1,055.20	470	1,759.76	966	163.59	7,976.89	2,151.76	619,041.44	146,420
128	74.72	1	1.85	96	20.09	7,090.20	120.83	40,246.15	17,233
7	.89	11	17.53	119	11.35	2,619.62	229.82	77,751.54	23,997
135	75.61	12	19.38	215	31.44	9,709.82	350.65	117,997.69 Sq. m. 148.37	41,230
7	14.60	241	524.55	358	49.40	235.43	121.11	91,694.90	37,919
198	174.00	99	120.48	298	75.45	704.412	153.91	97,193.65	41,822
148	258.97	188	3 0.77	294	39.36	165.53	69.86	86,421.93	25,180
1,006	1,371.71	47	53.30	561	.98	2,413.25	811.89	124,101.82	59,494
725	982.413	24	19.39	732	....	1,896.185	1,438.365	100,952.148	48,719
2,084	2,802.293	599	1,008.49	2,243	337.615	11,754.515	2,595.138	500,367.448	213,114
136	105.59	8	7.08	266	44.950	6,577.910	382.125	67,917.385	39,804
118	98.69	6	1.83	297	81.629	4,644.79	309.960	66,594.070	58,173
59	56.10	17	2.83	210	37.46	3,023.73	179.25	63,023.51	54,339
110	37.05	25	16.00	303	49.30	....	68.64	46,048.78	48,669
92	67.18	16	15.09	164	18.56	....	3.91	37,886.52	40,183
113	102.53	1	.52	252	26.59	....	16.82	....	24,743
151	181.980	....	....	123	31.640	438.35	757.415	63,058.355	29,231
395	375.31	5	6.90	307	79.04	1,955.12	122.20	78,548.64	43,039
1,174	1,024.410	78	50.25	1,916	369.169	16,640.400	1,840.320	456,635.910	338,182
279	105.520	470	1,759.76	966	163.59	7,976.89	2,151.76	619,041.44	146,420
135	75.61	12	19.38	215	31.44	9,709.82	350.65	117,997.69	41,230
2,084	2,802.293	599	1,008.89	2,243	337.615	11,754.515	2,595.138	500,367.448	2,131.14
1,174	1,024.410	78	50.25	1,916	369.169	16,640.400	1,840.320	456,635.910	338,182
3,672	4,889.513	1,159	2,927.88	5,340	881.814	46,081.625	6,937.868	1,694,042.482	738,946

APPENDIX XII.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Revenue Department.

Land Revenue Branch.

*No. 59T.—R., dated Darjeeling, the
27th April 1920.*

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in police-stations Raipur, Simlapal, Khatra, Indpur, Ranibundh and Chhatna in the district of Bankura, where the preparation of a record-of-rights has been undertaken under Notification No. 1043 T.—R., dated the 12th September 1917, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and the preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) A rate of 14 annas per acre shall be levied on all cultivated lands and a rate of 5 annas per acre on all lands classed as jungle and waste.

Common lands, such as roads, streams, burning ghats, shall be excluded from assessment.

(2) Of the 14 annas rate, raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 5 annas and their landlords of all grades together pay 9 annas per acre.

(3) The whole of 5 annas rate for lands classed as jungle and waste shall be borne by the landlords.

(4) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(5) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate of rent is fixed in perpetuity shall pay their own share of cost and that of landlords superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.

(d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or the under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(6) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of the raiyat or landlord, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(7) (a) All under-raiyats with right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 2 annas 6 pies per acre for the land in their possession.

(b) Under-raiyats with no right of occupancy shall be exempted from assessment.

(8) (a) The minimum charge for any tenure or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas.

(b) The calculation shall be made (1) to the nearest acre and (2) to the nearest anna.

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Revenue Department.

Land Revenue Branch.

*No. 11104 L. R., dated the 21st December
1921.*

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in police-stations Bankura, Barjora, Gangajalghaty, Onda and Taldangra in the district of Bankura, where the preparation of a record-of-rights has been undertaken under Notification No. 7535 L. R., dated the 13th September, 1918, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) A rate of Re. 1 per acre shall be levied on all cultivated lands and a rate of 6 annas per acre on all lands classed as jungle and waste.

Common lands, such as roads, streams, burning ghats, shall be excluded from assessment.

(2) Of the Re. 1 rate, raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 6 annas and their landlords of all grades rate, the former class will pay 2 annas and together 10 annas per acre. Of the 6 annas their landlords of all grades together 4 annas.

(3) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

- (a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate of rent is fixed in perpetuity shall pay their own share of the cost and that of landlords superior to them.
- (b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.
- (c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.
- (d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or the under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of the raiyat or landlord, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(6) (a) All under-raiyats with right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 3 annas per acre for the land in their possession.

(b) Under-raiyats with no right of occupancy shall pay 2 annas for each khatian which they are entitled to get.

(7) (a) The minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas subject to clause 6 (b).

(b) Broken portions of an acre will always be calculated as a full acre and broken portions of an anna as a full anna.

W. S. HOPKINS,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Offg.).

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Revenue Department.

Land Revenue Branch.

No. 1188 L.R., dated the 30th January 1922.

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act (Act VIII of 1885), and in modification of the orders contained in Government order No. 2472L.R., dated the 30th March 1921, the Governor in Council has determined that in police-stations Saltora and Mejhia in the district of Bankura, where the preparation of a record-of-rights has been undertaken under Notification No. 7535L.R., dated the 13th September 1918, the landlords' and tenants'

share of cost for the survey and the preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) A rate of 6 annas per acre shall be levied on all lands classed jungle and waste, of which raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies will pay 2 annas and the landlords of all grades together 4 annas.

Common lands, such as roads, streams, burning ghats, shall be excluded from assessment.

(2) A rate of Re. 1 per acre shall be levied on all other lands, of which raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies will pay 6 annas and the landlords of all grades together 10 annas per acre.

(3) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate is fixed in perpetuity shall pay their own share of cost and that of landlords superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.

(d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or the under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of the raiyat or landlord, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(6) (a) All under-raiyats with right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 3 annas per acre for the land in their possession.

(b) Under-raiyats with no right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 2 annas per khatian.

(7) Broken portions of an acre shall always be reckoned as a full acre and broken portions of an anna as a full anna.

•W. S. HOPKINS,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Offg.).

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.**Revenue Department.****Land Revenue Branch.**

No. 1189 L. R., dated the 30th January 1922.

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act (Act VIII of 1885), and in modification of the orders contained in Government order No. 2473 L. R., dated the 30th March 1921, the Governor in Council has determined that in police-stations Asansol, Salanpur, Niamatpur, Dishergarh, Barabani, Raniganj, Jamuria, Ondal, Faridpur and Kaksa in the district of Burdwan, where the preparation of a record-of-rights has been undertaken under Notification No. 7535 L. R., dated the 13th September 1918, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and the preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) A rate of 7 annas per acre shall be levied on all lands classed jungle and waste, of which raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies will pay 3 annas and the landlords of all grades together 4 annas.

Common lands, such as roads, streams, burning ghats, shall be excluded from assessment.

(2) A rate of Re. 1-2 per acre shall be levied on all other lands of which raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies will pay 7 annas and the landlords of all grades together 11 annas per acre.

(3) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned as follows:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate is fixed in perpetuity shall pay their own share of cost and that of landlords superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.

(d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or the under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of the raiyat or landlord, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(6) (a) All under-raiyats with the right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 3 annas per acre for the land in their possession.

(b) Under-raiyats with no right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 2 annas per khatian.

(7) Broken portions of an acre shall always be reckoned as a full acre and broken portions of an anna as a full anna.

W. S. HOPKINS,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Offg.).

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.**Revenue Department.****Land Revenue Branch.**

No. 832 L.R., dated Calcutta, the 29th January 1925.

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in police-stations Bishnupur, Jaypur, Siromanipur, Kotampur, Indas, Patrasaer, Sonamukhi and Radhanagar in the district of Bankura, where the preparation of a record-of-rights has been undertaken under Notification No. 7535 L.R., dated the 13th September 1918, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and the preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) A rate of Re. 1 per acre shall be levied on all cultivated lands and a rate of 6 annas per acre on all lands classed as jungle and waste.

Common lands, such as roads, streams, burning ghats, shall be excluded from assessment.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Revenue Department.

Land Revenue Branch.

No. 6062 L.R., dated Calcutta, the 6th August 1923.

APPORTIONMENT ORDER.

In modification of this department Notification No. 832 L.R., dated the 20th January 1923, so far as it referred to police-stations Indas, Patrasaer, Sonamukhi and Radhanagar in the district of Bankura, under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in the said police-stations where the preparation of a record-of-rights was undertaken under notification No. 7535 L.R., dated the 13th September 1918, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) A rate of Re. 1-2 per acre shall be levied on all culturable lands and a rate of 7 annas per acre on all lands classed as jungle and waste. Common lands, such as roads, streams, burning ghâts, shall be excluded from assessment.

(2) Of the Re. 1-2 rate, raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 7 annas and their landlords of all grades together 11 annas per acre. Of the 7 annas rate, the former class will pay 2 annas 6 pies and their landlords of all grades together 4 annas 6 pies.

3. Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

4. As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate of rent fixed in perpetuity, shall pay their own share of the cost and that of landlords superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(2) Of the Re. 1 rate, raiyats and all persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 6 annas and their landlords of all grades together 10 annas per acre. Of the 6 annas rate the former class will pay 2 annas and their landlords of all grades together 4 annas.

(3) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent or rate of rent is fixed in perpetuity shall pay their own share of the cost and that of landlords superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourths.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.

(d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or the under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) Rent-free holders, whether of the decree of the raiyat or landlord, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(6) (a) All under-raiyats with right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 3 annas per acre for the land in their possession.

(b) Under-raiyats with no right of occupancy shall pay 2 annas for each khatian which they are entitled to get.

(7) (a) The minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas, subject to clause 6 (b).

(b) Broken portions of an acre will always be calculated as a full acre and broken portions of an anna as a full anna.

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

- (c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders and so on proportionately according to the number of years of lease to run.
- (d) Temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or the under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of the raiyat or landlord, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(6) (a) All under-raiyats with right of occupancy shall pay at the rate of 4 annas per acre for the land in their possession.

(b) Under-raiyats with no right of occupancy shall pay 3 annas for each khatian which they are entitled to get.

(7) (a) The minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 5 annas subject to clause 6 (b).

(b) Broken portions of an acre shall always be calculated as a full acre and broken portions of an anna as a full anna.

M. C. McALPIN,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

APPENDIX XIII.

Revenue-paying estates of Bankura Collectorate in the district of Bankura.

Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.
1	1	208,004 341	1,35,989 6 5	66	67	224 97	63 7 0
2	2	132,587 02	1,92,633 5 0	67	68	94 62	129 0 0
3	3	13,428 55	23,395 5 0	68	69	75 96	135 13 0
4	4	122,355 34	3,499 4 6	69	70	12 37	27 13 6
5	5	8,542 42	8,237 10 0	70	71	231 49	237 7 9
6	6	493 058	408 9 9	71	72	51 46	59 3 0
7	7	9,792 895	6,310 9 6	72	73	75 37	45 9 8
8	8	32,050 73	5,202 8 9	73	74	9 00	5 11 0
9	9	16,622 15	3,110 0 5	74	76	368 56	166 5 2
10	10	4,665 26	1,156 10 3	75	77	34 885	79 10 10
11	11	2,321 19	1,704 5 0	76	79	110 15	56 4 0
12	12	86 26	58 15 0	77	80	624 73	508 5 0
13	13	54 19	58 5 0	78	81	177 94	94 2 4
14	14	4,182 26	1,736 2 0	79	82	52 34	150 8 0
15	15	194 95	87 5 3	80	83	27 74	124 5 2
16	16	77 13	76 5 0	81	84	42 05	14 11 10
17	17	56 55	68 7 0	82	85	74 44	40 0 10
18	18	48 47	66 0 0	83	86	132 50	12 15 0
19	19	273 44	94 2 0	84	87	266 62	69 0 0
20	20	43 08	56 12 0	85	88	214 58	23 7 0
21	21	258 08	357 8 0	86	89	22 56	13 0 0
22	22	512 53	425 5 0	87	90	22 57	13 0 0
23	23	49 86	38 2 0	88	91	81 49	30 5 0
24	24	493 11	338 2 0	89	92	99 29	32 11 0
25	25	954 42	726 7 0	90	93	364 24	144 12 0
26	26	43 02	45 12 0	91	94	129 37	74 14 10
27	27	237 97	2 4 0	92	95	29 09	19 15 5
28	28	949 27	575 14 0	93	96	123 08	179 2 0
29	29	2,875 01	924 4 0	94	97	167 97	142 1 0
30	30	650 02	563 2 0	95	98	83 66	65 13 9
31	31	308 45	390 1 0	96	99	137 52	350 8 3
32	32	495 75	238 12 0	97	100	10 540	13 12 9
33	33	116 58	61 9 6	98	101	76 97	52 2 6
34	34	672 39	317 8 7	99	110	411 61	121 10 0
35	35	889 12	410 5 6	100	111	220 47	45 0 0
36	36	61 98	76 5 0	101	112	50 55	52 4 2
37	37	93 64	102 2 0	102	113	25 18	43 12 11
38	38	200 17	179 15 0	103	114	12 58	21 14 6
39	39	14,740 49	1,929 15 0	104	115	660 56	210 13 0
40	40	332 29	233 4 0	105	116	225 35	129 1 3
41	41	1,943 80	810 5 0	106	117	3 25	7 6 10
42	42	1,559 07	734 3 0	107	118	0 72	1 11 11
43	43	1,374 78	1,229 14 0	108	119	1 22	1 7 10
44	44	49 86	42 15 0	109	120	0 84	2 1 5
45	45	130 84	64 3 7	110	121	2 00	5 3 10
46	46	1,199 31	497 6 0	111	122	0 27	3 0 0
47	47	52 50	25 14 0	112	123	2 84	6 0 0
48	48	669 06	279 8 0	113	124	81 60	181 1 3
49	49	3,986 43	1,792 5 0	114	125	154 98	93 14 0
50	50	199 31	99 11 0	115	126	71 57	70 9 8
51	51	44 39	106 13 0	116	127	152 90	93 13 0
52	52	95 18	28 8 3	117	128	4 15	9 8 0
53	53	71 48	87 9 0	118	129	41 68	28 13 0
54	54	53 77	55 10 4	119	130	84 81	43 0 0
55	55	99 00	298 6 4	120	132	99 63	96 12 0
56	56	516 79	968 4 8	121	133	94 94	75 6 3
57	57	593 00	77 14 4	122	134	146 90	138 10 4
58	59	108 110	24 4 0	123	135	153 15	304 0 0
59	60	38 89	26 15 3	124	136	46 85	34 10 0
60	61	367 69	107 4 9	125	137	49 17	64 8 11
61	62	2,186 08	886 4 0	126	138	44 52	67 0 9
62	63	153 10	345 0 0	127	139	70 53	42 8 8
63	64	1,698 413	1,184 7 0	128	140	218 91	43 2 0
64	65	438 73	452 3 0	129	141	311 21	87 0 0
65	66	604 60	327 2 0	130	142	33 75	16 5 0

Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.
131	143	88 04	49 13 0	199	214	317 50	141 12 3
132	144	32 02	22 8 10	200	215	102 43	47 15 0
133	145	193 85	163 12 3	201	216	20 65	10 0 0
134	146	71 72	9 0 0	202	217	150 30	30 0 0
135	147	96 74	8 8 0	203	218	222 14	42 5 0
136	148	25 30	15 2 0	204	219	37 78	37 0 0
137	149	8 24	5 1 0	205	221	66 64	115 3 9
138	150	16 72	20 11 8	206	222	110 24	65 0 0
139	151	10 20	20 12 0	207	223	32 19	28 1 6
140	152	0 33	0 13 11	208	224	31 19	13 4 0
141	153	0 41	0 12 11	209	225	61 69	26 7 8
142	154	0 38	0 12 8	210	226	96 90	118 9 6
143	155	4 88	14 0 0	211	227	122 22	188 8 8
144	156	5 24	8 14 2	212	228	260 24	172 8 0
145	157	7 97	16 14 0	213	229	327 97	6 0 0
146	158	3 46	4 12 5	214	230	13 86	12 3 5
147	159	14 36	34 7 0	215	231	53 47	39 5 0
148	160	0 75	0 12 0	216	232	19 01	32 13 2
149	161	5 84	4 10 3	217	233	10 99	16 11 6
150	162	4 02	6 10 3	218	234	17 39	20 4 5
151	163	1 86	4 9 11	219	235	15 13	21 2 9
152	164	0 52	2 8 8	220	236	5 50	9 5 11
153	166	1 55	4 7 0	221	237	11 15	23 8 0
154	167	1 07	1 12 0	222	245	890 29	205 9 0
155	168	67 65	66 6 0	223	246	107 60	22 4 0
156	169	71 20	69 11 0	224	247	25 95	16 10 9
157	171	31 99	12 1 7	225	248	51 78	41 2 0
158	172	42 73	106 14 4	226	249	35 07	17 15 7
159	173	14 37	34 14 0	227	250	36 80	67 15 0
160	174	46 09	17 10 6	228	251	441 03	381 9 0
161	175	40 37	47 6 0	229	252	209 14	229 15 1
162	176	355 57	486 3 2	230	253	122 19	165 3 8
163	177	256 12	26 4 0	231	254	85 56	58 6 0
164	178	48 63	56 12 0	232	255	108 31	7 0 0
165	179	9 68	22 10 0	233	256	248 25	117 8 0
166	180	11 400	32 5 0	234	257	399 21	285 0 0
167	181	357 41	50 0 0	235	258	67 54	124 15 8
168	182	20 75	62 8 0	236	259	192 32	162 12 2
169	184	67 39	124 0 0	237	260	41 52	39 7 6
170	185	132 64	109 0 0	238	262	318 65	215 2 0
171	186	46 99	11 0 0	239	263	25 61	10 3 10
172	187	391 58	170 8 0	240	264	89 88	24 2 0
173	188	4 32	3 11 0	241	265	70 945	98 3 1
174	189	305 70	22 0 0	242	266	2 07	12 4 0
175	190	715 24	33 12 0	243	267	40 33	39 0 0
176	191	338 63	403 9 5	244	268	70 81	65 9 3
177	192	6 72	8 8 2	245	269	31 13	11 0 0
178	193	14 24	19 11 2	246	270	245 25	48 5 5
179	194	77 93	44 13 7	247	271	34 14	39 0 2
180	195	26 61	17 12 0	248	272	127 74	187 15 8
181	196	7 28	4 7 4	249	273	128 46	137 8 10
182	197	51 51	32 5 4	250	274	241 20	204 9 0
183	198	143 96	62 14 6	251	275	111 08	37 13 6
184	199	1 57	1 2 5	252	276	24 94	63 1 5
185	200	284 09	200 3 0	253	277	53 98	30 7 5
186	201	157 47	237 0 0	254	278	88 19	52 14 0
187	202	194 71	62 0 0	255	279	40 49	40 4 4
188	203	34 17	17 0 0	256	280	82 91	120 11 1
189	204	6 44	11 12 11	257	281	185 95	64 0 0
190	205	2,660 91	303 0 0	258	282	1,610 71	323 0 0
191	206	240 01	59 0 0	259	283	238 63	425 14 1
192	207	76 38	62 3 8	260	284	133 81	140 9 8
193	208	28 36	40 15 10	261	285	56 14	100 15 11
194	209	207 63	134 4 0	262	286	24 08	48 13 6
195	210	4 68	4 2 10	263	287	22 540	22 3 1
196	211	690 12	146 11 8	264	288	477 85	728 12 0
197	212	66 66	39 3 5	265	289	149 19	163 3 11
198	213	84 85	163 12 7	266	290	168 19	13 0 0

Serial No.	Touzl No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzl No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.
267	291	127 25	299 1 11	335	366	10 90	3 0 0
268	294	59 95	50 10 4	336	367	89 53	47 0 0
269	295	221 68	181 8 0	337	368	87 32	36 0 0
270	296	884 20	454 1 9	338	369	34 50	51 11 10
271	298	33 68	50 5 4	339	370	10 810	12 14 9
272	299	81 73	86 14 3	340	371	7 110	19 0 2
273	300	61 46	74 13 1	341	372	76 006	45 4 8
274	301	24 40	17 0 0	342	374	165 13	161 0 7
275	302	81 26	114 12 5	343	375	154 37	104 4 4
276	303	11 37	22 1 1	344	376	312 77	135 14 0
277	304	66 36	42 5 7	345	377	324 21	168 0 0
278	305	79 45	64 14 5	346	378	882 53	218 1 0
279	306	87 70	78 10 8	347	379	212 50	252 12 0
280	307	37 28	23 13 6	348	380	61 44	41 0 0
281	308	74 65	79 6 10	349	381	1,015 79	223 0 0
282	309	297 12	86 0 0	350	382	19 68	36 4 7
283	310	79 56	186 0 0	351	383	42 84	32 15 3
284	311	22 73	28 4 7	352	384	136 37	86 5 0
285	312	547 15	218 11 0	353	385	5 24	11 10 9
286	314	64 02	76 5 11	354	386	3 62	5 8 5
287	315	24 65	29 3 3	355	387	2 42	1 4 1
288	316	1 47	2 0 0	356	388	882 45	965 8 0
289	317	250 67	141 15 11	357	389	107 28	17 0 0
290	318	150 26	224 6 11	358	390	249 89	108 0 0
291	319	117 87	80 10 1	359	391	72 02	76 14 3
292	320	35 94	23 3 4	360	392	374 74	155 4 0
293	321	145 78	28 12 11	361	393	71 85	4 0 0
294	322	149 35	24 4 1	362	394	161 71	174 14 0
295	323	25 85	35 13 3	363	395	3,195 885	850 0 0
296	324	73 80	16 0 0	364	396	610 43	38 0 0
297	325	483 36	138 3 3	365	397	8 480	21 0 0
298	326	853 43	156 0 0	366	398	720 29	64 0 0
299	327	1,306 72	128 0 0	367	399	1,223 99	20 0 0
300	328	131 94	176 0 0	368	400	126 820	29 0 0
301	329	33 33	20 2 2	369	401	29 21	13 0 0
302	330	48 33	84 12 6	370	402	109 94	67 0 0
303	331	1,035 13	650 2 11	371	403	59 10	86 9 11
304	332	78 67	107 15 8	372	404	224 54	172 13 11
305	333	165 14	202 8 7	373	405	112 99	47 8 9
306	334	56 82	27 12 0	374	406	137 82	15 5 0
307	335	842 53	682 14 0	375	407	103 44	36 9 10
308	336	227 54	168 14 6	376	408	253 30	195 5 1
309	337	111 99	70 2 0	377	409	100 49	228 8 7
310	338	370 31	210 0 0	378	410	115 78	49 8 10
311	339	56 05	34 4 2	379	411	44 21	33 15 1
312	340	56 45	71 0 1	380	412	395 85	257 0 0
313	341	16 77	19 4 7	381	413	275 81	51 0 0
314	342	141 450	155 11 5	382	414	85 99	34 0 7
315	343	88 29	154 15 0	383	415	374 75	279 10 2
316	344	284 20	51 6 0	384	416	212 91	68 0 0
317	345	136 130	85 0 0	385	417	388 24	63 0 0
318	346	308 045	198 0 0	386	419	3 48	4 12 0
319	347	119 19	41 6 11	387	420	3 22	5 12 6
320	348	68 66	25 7 6	388	421	1 63	0 15 8
321	350	14 780	78 10 7	389	422	4 23	3 5 0
322	351	189 39	163 7 9	390	424	120 04	28 0 0
323	352	150 27	27 0 0	391	425	1,563 17	466 7 0
324	354	1,161 22	305 12 6	392	426	195 47	262 4 2
325	355	2,099 51	135 0 0	393	427	78 11	9 8 0
326	356	80 09	21 0 0	394	428	357 41	9 4 0
327	357	183 26	124 13 8	395	429	160 68	101 0 0
328	358	75 71	109 13 11	396	430	430 00	10 13 0
329	359	6 37	8 9 5	397	431	63 32	31 8 4
330	360	265 60	108 0 0	398	432	301 74	195 8 6
331	361	161 92	48 0 0	399	433	48 02	17 13 10
332	363	44 68	23 15 1	400	434	7 66	27 12 7
333	364	6 53	6 8 2	401	435	8 31	14 10 4
334	365	965 36	32 8 0	402	436	6 63	7 1 7

Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.
403	438	0 76	1 1 9	471	514	172 00	7 8 0
404	439	0 61	3 2 10	472	515	33 09	16 4 0
405	441	2 59	4 8 6	473	516	392 03	85 12 0
406	442	0 90	4 4 3	474	517	57 48	16 6 0
407	443	3 44	8 7 10	475	518	191 73	69 1 6
408	444	8 27	10 10 2	476	519	72 36	24 7 0
409	445	4 53	12 2 4	477	520	124 00	0 6 0
410	446	21 90	8 0 0	478	521	226 12	4 8 0
411	447	58 10	1 4 0	479	522	48 07	5 0 0
412	448	114 17	133 14 9	480	523	75 23	0 8 0
413	449	14 36	31 7 10	481	524	164 89	5 0 0
414	450	79 39	52 1 5	482	525	72 62	79 9 4
415	451	28 10	41 5 6	483	526	114 89	79 9 4
416	452	214 07	155 8 0	484	527	37 64	9 0 0
417	453	3,223 71	528 0 0	485	528	88 53	34 3 0
418	454	101 99	70 0 0	486	529	68 82	22 0 0
419	455	787 48	365 14 5	487	530	41 21	35 14 0
420	456	70 34	82 4 6	488	531	108 43	34 14 0
421	457	4 69	5 11 1	489	532	158 06	20 7 0
422	458	7 98	6 8 5	490	533	34 14	6 0 0
423	459	15 80	20 3 5	491	534	74 65	36 6 0
424	461	0 26	0 8 5	492	535	240 11	12 0 0
425	462	0 73	0 10 0	493	536	133 57	15 8 0
426	463	0 54	1 0 0	494	537	77 27	75 8 0
427	465	4 25	1 4 0	495	538	46 49	33 0 0
428	466	39 40	13 0 0	496	539	82 87	46 12 0
429	467	385 59	37 0 0	497	540	147 35	25 0 0
430	468	583 15	112 0 0	498	541	68 96	60 15 0
431	469	262 635	315 9 0	499	542	740 20	1 8 0
432	470	2,219 73	202 2 0	500	543	110 58	90 6 0
433	471	542 37	11 8 0	501	544	46 38	60 0 0
434	472	6,248 870	904 10 0	502	545	41 18	44 0 0
435	473	82 24	40 0 0	503	547	64 04	25 9 0
436	474	377 07	242 4 0	504	548	51 71	17 0 0
437	475	3,433 67	393 12 0	505	549	83 51	33 0 0
438	476	2,157 44	208 0 0	506	550	45 94	37 0 0
439	477	1,523 73	277 0 0	507	551	368 18	36 0 0
440	478	2,596 57	1,007 0 0	508	552	66 29	66 5 0
441	479	196 83	190 11 8	509	554	41 55	29 0 0
442	480	81 34	113 12 11	510	555	210 42	56 0 0
443	481	103 01	109 0 0	511	556	440 27	36 0 0
444	482	59 36	73 9 8	512	557	196 95	2 8 0
445	483	404 88	32 0 0	513	558	50 27	26 0 0
446	484	6,868 96	274 0 0	514	559	187 51	50 0 0
447	485	208 48	165 12 2	515	560	46 68	78 8 0
448	488	0 30	30 0 0	516	561	55 75	12 0 0
449	490	0 120	16 0 0	517	563	410 35	169 4 0
450	493	44 86	84 0 0	518	564	148 93	104 0 0
451	494	100 70	101 6 0	519	565	65 11	9 5 0
452	495	10 18	19 0 0	520	566	58 950	53 15 4
453	496	355 79	128 0 0	521	567	95 69	40 8 0
454	497	68 01	65 0 0	522	568	394 03	17 12 0
455	498	86 32	40 4 0	523	569	808 70	162 13 0
456	499	144 75	12 0 0	524	570	50 83	11 0 0
457	500	35 62	31 6 0	525	571	145 52	150 0 0
458	501	111 24	24 0 0	526	572	99 97	30 11 0
459	502	211 83	189 4 0	527	573	46 23	15 0 0
460	503	558 36	205 0 0	528	574	150 63	69 0 0
461	504	258 59	55 0 0	529	575	73 41	146 0 0
462	505	159 38	26 2 0	530	577	135 55	60 0 0
463	506	107 67	95 0 0	531	578	13 46	5 0 0
464	507	696 05	173 0 0	532	579	51 67	10 0 0
465	508	195 29	13 0 0	533	580	181 73	33 0 0
466	509	39 33	15 0 0	534	581	54 24	26 0 0
467	510	155 90	24 0 0	535	582	79 71	25 13 0
468	511	47 94	10 0 0	536	583	89 30	38 0 0
469	512	142 86	17 13 0	537	585	67 14	17 0 0
470	513	139 02	46 0 0	538	586	35 92	13 11 0

Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.
539	587	55 44	101 1 0	607	677	100 49	30 0 7
540	588	166 61	47 2 0	608	678	43 39	13 9 11
541	589	158 58	43 0 0	609	679	27 45	11 13 2
542	590	31 69	29 0 0	610	682	64 11	34 9 0
543	591	44 84	17 0 0	611	683	16 26	5 6 5
544	592	77 12	38 4 0	612	684	15 95	4 12 9
545	593	72 30	16 0 0	613	685	2 92	1 13 10
546	594	170 96	101 7 0	614	686	1 32	0 7 6
547	595	28 00	17 7 0	615	687	8 41	1 1 1
548	596	118 51	132 5 0	616	688	5 34	1 11 9
549	597	73 98	57 0 0	617	689	4 25	1 6 5
550	598	86 36	31 11 0	618	690	3 53	0 14 11
551	599	65 43	66 12 6	619	691	4 43	0 5 11
552	600	481 73	133 2 0	620	692	1 58	0 4 3
553	601	203 39	236 14 0	621	739	18 19	4 6 5
554	602	154 07	33 0 0	622	740	16 27	3 1 1
555	603	58 55	39 3 6	623	741	10 90	7 7 6
556	604	44 96	1 7 0	624	742	52 47	11 11 9
557	605	621 62	122 0 0	625	743	8 43	1 1 1
558	606	8 39	7 10 0	626	744	14 07	3 11 9
559	607	1 81	8 5 0	627	745	1 03	1 2 2
560	608	48 66	2 0 0	628	746	3 77	1 11 8
561	609	15 05	10 1 0	629	747	11 90	2 10 8
562	610	43 90	3 8 0	630	748	6 25	2 10 8
563	611	7 96	1 2 0	631	749	6 44	1 5 4
564	612	9 56	0 5 0	632	750	9 61	2 6 5
565	614	3 02	3 0 0	633	751	2 76	1 2 2
566	616	3 15	3 9 0	634	752	4 96	1 1 1
567	617	12 64	17 13 0	635	753	6 52	2 6 5
568	618	37 97	16 14 8	636	754	1 26	1 1 1
569	619	89 18	41 0 0	637	755	4 86	1 8 6
570	620	65 70	171 10 0	638	756	4 26	1 13 1
671	621	137 93	135 5 0	639	757	4 02	1 13 10
572	622	49 83	30 6 0	640	758	5 90	1 2 1
573	623	30 57	6 0 0	641	759	34 83	2 14 0
574	624	94 24	78 6 0	642	760	20 68	28 12 5
575	625	81 65	68 8 0	643	761	34 00	38 1 9
576	626	117 05	27 8 0	644	763	2 42	1 14 2
577	627	38 555	58 7 0	645	764	1 33	0 8 1
578	628	193 57	51 6 0	646	765	17 68	16 7 5
579	629	56 43	89 0 0	647	766	88 39	40 0 0
580	630	106 47	12 12 0	648	767	61 37	19 3 2
581	631	197 24	37 5 0	649	768	38 45	17 1 2
582	632	168 70	49 13 0	650	770	4 09	2 2 2
583	633	520 62	373 10 0	651	773	14 99	3 3 2
584	634	99 82	34 0 0	652	774	5 37	5 13 10
585	635	226 19	59 3 0	653	775	7 83	2 0 0
586	636	52 41	85 6 0	654	776	5 41	2 14 11
587	637	55 05	50 3 0	655	777	19 05	3 3 2
588	638	114 76	89 7 0	656	778	6 48	5 5 4
589	640	81 25	43 3 6	657	779	32 76	9 6 0
590	641	45 27	9 10 0	658	780	7 62	2 2 2
591	642	194 29	98 0 0	659	781	14 17	2 2 1
592	643	99 57	55 10 0	660	782	15 11	2 2 2
593	644	28 19	13 0 0	661	783	20 68	4 4 3
594	645	10 32	9 3 0	662	784	12 86	4 14 11
595	646	8 02	9 6 0	663	785	12 23	3 3 2
596	647	9 71	8 0 0	664	786	6 56	3 3 2
597	648	21 19	6 9 0	665	787	13 38	3 3 2
598	649	6 94	8 13 0	666	788	5 19	1 1 1
599	650	29 47	25 4 0	667	789	7 34	3 3 2
600	651	198 01	38 7 0	668	790	23 18	4 4 3
601	652	507 28	84 4 0	669	791	5 9	2 2 2
602	653	311 26	61 13 0	670	792	7 68	2 2 2
603	654	70 48	31 6 11	671	793	9 5	2 10 8
604	674	200 56	47 3 3	672	794	32 12	9 3 0
605	675	197 40	26 15 3	673	796	4 3	0 8 6
606	676	58 19	23 10 4	674	797	14 94	2 2 1

Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.
675	801	4 38	3 3 2	743	874	110 36	107 10 0
676	802	7 32	2 4 3	744	875	30 56	14 8 0
677	803	3 46	1 3 3	745	876	117 29	4 9 0
678	804	6 86	1 3 2	746	878	140 48	62 15 0
679	805	7 76	1 1 1	747	879	43 86	48 13 0
680	806	10 14	1 2 2	748	880	51 37	23 10 0
681	807	8 30	2 10 8	749	881	7 60	16 10 0
682	808	8 84	2 4 3	750	882	4 82	6 7 0
685	909	3 05	1 1 1	751	883	10 10	5 14 0
684	810	3 11	1 1 1	752	884	3 15	5 5 0
685	811	7 19	1 1 1	753	885	85 44	25 9 0
686	812	3 91	1 1 1	754	886	45 78	24 7 0
687	813	2 57	1 3 4	755	887	41 18	31 12 0
688	814	13 12	1 4 11	756	888	19 19	5 15 4
689	815	16 5	4 4 3	757	889	4 75	4 0 3
690	816	1 10	0 8 6	758	890	4 41	3 12 0
691	817	830 67	484 0 0	759	891	19 54	6 5 3
692	818	135 6	73 5 10	760	892	39 73	57 1 0
693	819	105 84	136 8 5	761	893	39 73	36 14 0
694	821	274 30	73 6 0	762	894	82 89	15 6 0
695	822	28 21	24 8 6	763	895	86 03	24 0 0
696	823	151 19	23 7 6	764	896	128 25	26 0 0
697	824	169 6	48 6 5	765	898	50 52	16 0 0
698	825	8 41	10 4 5	766	900	436 42	230 13 0
699	826	45 18	18 2 2	767	902	60 89	26 3 0
700	827	18 6	8 10 2	768	903	55 47	25 5 0
701	828	2 36	1 13 4	769	906	63 22	58 1 2
702	829	15 65	2 10 8	770	907	11 70	1 0 0
703	830	2 87	2 10 8	771	908	154 84	166 0 0
704	834	30 93	30 6 9	772	909	239 290	121 5 0
705	835	12 53	6 7 6	773	910	113 90	91 6 0
706	836	0 68	1 10 9	774	911	186 74	98 0 0
707	837	1 94	7 2 11	775	912	73 74	70 2 0
708	838	168 56	123 12 10	776	913	46 27	42 0 0
709	839	43 1	16 2 0	777	914	81 20	107 0 0
710	840	104 39	54 10 8	778	915	27 34	5 4 0
711	841	66 50	39 13 0	779	916	19 11	5 8 0
712	843	240 50	33 12 0	780	917	1 86	1 8 0
713	844	122 28	42 13 0	781	919	57 76	63 0 0
714	845	42 76	42 12 0	782	920	290 59	171 14 0
715	846	149 12	47 14 0	783	921	447 48	179 0 0
716	847	114 59	44 0 0	784	922	12 98	25 0 0
717	848	30 14	4 2 0	785	923	66 72	72 0 0
718	849	83 96	12 4 0	786	924	26 61	11 0 0
719	850	29 0	12 10 0	787	925	33 47	16 0 0
720	851	28 47	13 7 0	788	926	11 57	17 0 0
721	852	21 17	11 5 0	789	927	20 78	23 0 0
722	853	20 54	12 15 0	790	928	21 56	15 0 0
723	854	71 14	13 14 0	791	929	299 49	43 0 0
724	855	79 78	44 9 0	792	930	50 31	132 0 0
725	856	49 65	23 4 0	793	931	120 10	54 0 0
726	857	32 52	60 5 0	794	932	3,975 80	428 0 0
727	858	1 840 59	410 2 0	795	933	123 59	96 0 0
728	859	301 92	77 0 0	796	934	122 880	163 0 0
729	860	5 74	4 2 0	797	936	50 42	18 14 0
730	861	362 88	138 13 0	798	937	50 46	15 10 0
731	862	63 15	35 13 0	799	938	140,393 857	731 7 10
732	863	169 83	92 5 0	800	939	72 85	30 0 0
733	864	121 98	27 14 8	801	940	168 69	21 8 0
734	865	112 41	15 12 0	802	941	1 33	1 0 0
735	866	29 53	30 8 0	803	942	133 12	102 0 0
736	867	70 94	45 0 0	804	943	304 06	63 0 0
737	868	288 7	44 13 0	805	944	75 20	53 0 0
738	869	93 59	82 0 0	806	945	29 75	33 0 0
739	870	495 12	167 0 0	807	946	70 48	64 0 0
740	871	59 185	90 14 0	808	947	2 440	1 0 0
741	872	603 23	40 6 6	809	949	27 89	9 0 0
742	873	583 96	162 10 0	810	950	16 16	0 12 0

Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.
811	951	153 83	127 0 0	879	1023	4 31	19 6 0
812	952	5 790	2 0 0	880	1025	3 57	19 8 0
813	953	36 675	19 0 0	881	1033	9 93*
814	954	89 83	123 0 0	882	1036	8 86*
815	955	180 06	121 0 0	883	1038	11 22*
816	956	10 66	14 0 0	884	1039	9 71*
817	957	170 04	57 0 0	885	1042	9 37	1 4 0
818	958	78 71	28 0 0	886	1044	0 67	0 5 0
819	959	217 51	471 0 0	887	1045	10 35	134 13 0
820	960	20 12	22 0 0	888	1046	9 93	1 6 0
821	961	490 60	124 0 0	889	1047	10 26	12 10 0
822	962	327 14	15 12 0	890	1048	9 72	7 7 0
823	963	0 31	1 8 0	891	1049	4 10*
824	964	72 86	42 0 0	892	1050	4 92	2 1 0
825	965	1 50	110 5 0	893	1066	0 58*
826	966	70 93	14 8 0	894	1067	9 72*
827	967	275 87	141 0 0	895	1068	7 42	39 0 0
828	968	151 39	89 0 0	896	1069	11 58	25 0 0
829	969	155 00	70 0 0	897	1071	10 81	0 3 0
830	970	45 39	27 0 0	898	1073	10 40*
831	971	17 62	6 4 0	899	1074	9 90*
832	972	133 5	10 0 0	900	1075	8 58*
833	973	33 40	26 6 0	901	1076	10 83	14 0 0
834	974	1,989 39	89 14 0	902	1077	10 45	18 0 0
835	975	50 04	2 0 0	903	1078	11 71*
836	976	11 9 85	0 5 0	904	1079	9 84*
837	979	4 59	5 7 0	905	1080	4 00*
838	980	32 31	25 4 0	906	1081	8 48*
839	981	24,464 05	325 12 8	907	1082	8 91	16 13 3
840	982	5,956 89	91 15 0	908	1083	36 66	15 0 2
841	983	4,683 07	225 11 0	909	1084	37 05	15 0 3
842	984	12,358 39	78 8 0	910	1092	0 138	36 0 0
843	985	6,409 62	182 1 11	911	1093	49 66	15 2 0
844	986	4,862 91	40 10 0	912	1094	67 60	45 10 3
845	987	8,940 73	113 7 0	913	1095	33 86	22 13 2
846	988	16,760 51	192 8 0	914	1096	33 85	22 13 1
847	989	29,391 18	505 11 6	915	1097	135 27	91 4 7
848	990	25,754 46	524 2 3	916	1098	165 19	102 0 9
849	991	35,863 52	212 9 8	917	1099	0 09	0 1 11
850	992	88,099 99	247 10 7	918	1100	39 91	37 0 0
851	993	48,721 27	759 13 8	919	1101	94 40	120 4 0
852	994	85,260 99	372 14 0	920	1102	7 36	1 2 0
853	995	79,362 71	2,657 13 9	921	1103	48 26	44 14 0
854	996	346 04	75 0 0	922	1104	36 06	40 4 0
855	997	3 85	33 0 0	923	1105	28 41	37 1 0
856	998	15 80	9 0 0	924	1106	4 03	3 4 5
857	999	4 09	6 0 0	925	1107	0 51	0 6 5
858	1000	0 47	0 12 0	926	1108	1 84	3 4 3
859	1001	1 15	2 9 0	927	1109	4 75	5 7 7
860	1002	0 50	1 0 0	928	1110	8 11	11 12 0
861	1003	0 82	0 7 0	929	1111	0 13	0 2 3
862	1004	0 38	0 2 0	930	1112	2 30	2 15 0
863	1005	1 95	2 4 0	931	1113	3 82	4 2 9
864	1006	1 64	2 0 0	932	1114	2 30	1 11 9
865	1007	1 29	1 6 0	933	1115	1 18	0 15 3
866	1008	0 65	0 10 0	934	1116	1 77	1 9 3
867	1009	0 77	1 0 0	935	1117	1 11	0 6 11
868	1010	0 43	2 0 0	936	1118	1 38	1 2 0
869	1011	1 20	1 8 0	937	1119	2 58	0 5 0
870	1012	1 50	1 6 0	938	1121	1 41	1 3 0
871	1014	0 89	0 6 0	939	1122	11 07	2 14 6
872	1016	0 25	0 6 0	940	1123	4 95	2 0 8
873	1017	0 07	0 2 0	941	1124	6 05	....
874	1018	0 48	0 11 0	942	1125	159 15	161 6 0
875	1019	45 02	6 11 5	943	1126	194 21	140 13 4
876	1020	17 01	40 0 0	944	1127	221 24	241 1 0
877	1021	1 77	9 0 0	945	1128	80 56	35 8 0
878	1022	1 10	7 3 0	946	1129	21 04	9 4 0

Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Total No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.
947	1130	33 15	27 5 0	1015	1198	571 70	163 9 0
948	1131	17 93	20 0 0	1016	1199	11 26	6 12 0
949	1132	29 94	18 9 3	1017	1200	56 07	28 9 0
950	1133	138 82	87 3 0	1018	1201	10 08	8 5 0
951	1134	16 92	12 12 0	1019	1202	23 95	12 7 0
952	1135	96 00	37 6 0	1020	1203	50 88	13 9 0
953	1136	17 5	8 10 0	1021	1204	141 18	91 13 0
954	1137	29 47	1 3 0	1022	1205	41 71	13 14 0
955	1138	37 95	25 5 0	1023	1206	63 47	34 10 0
956	1139	28 83	23 10 0	1024	1207	23 18	18 8 0
957	1140	48 02	63 0 0	1025	1208	34 30	39 0 0
958	1141	7 92	5 15 0	1026	1209	3 72	4 10 0
959	1142	30 10	23 11 0	1027	1210	0 23	2 4 0
960	1143	58 78	21 14 0	1028	1211	328 16	70 5 0
961	1144	28 79	14 10 0	1029	1212	93 90	51 4 0
962	1145	70 52	36 2 0	1030	1213	151 63	14 2 0
963	1146	120 14	46 7 0	1031	1214	516 66	39 9 0
964	1147	39 85	18 1 0	1032	1215	144 15	42 3 0
965	1148	31 49	31 0 0	1033	1216	73 22	31 10 0
966	1149	52 74	23 13 0	1034	1217	10 34	5 2 0
967	1150	199 39	78 2 0	1035	1218	94 62	24 4 0
968	1151	289 67	76 12 0	1036	1219	2,548 33	402 14 0
969	1152	49 92	25 15 0	1037	1220	753 79	175 3 0
970	1153	29 78	32 9 0	1038	1221	658 43	111 8 0
971	1154	68 26	21 4 8	1039	1222	164 78	83 0 0
972	1155	116 24	46 12 0	1040	1223	28 66	32 15 0
973	1156	55 94	29 12 0	1041	1224	51 93	24 5 0
974	1157	92 33	35 10 0	1042	1225	127 78	77 1 0
975	1158	68 15	26 3 0	1043	1226	99 38	53 14 0
976	1159	166 78	57 9 0	1044	1227	60 31	32 13 0
977	1160	31 94	23 7 0	1045	1228	96 39	57 6 0
978	1161	111 27	58 3 0	1046	1229	41 64	27 13 0
979	1162	381 20	79 7 0	1047	1230	69 22	74 3 0
980	1163	48 86	21 14 0	1048	1231	93 53	122 1 0
981	1164	374 46	106 6 0	1049	1232	63 58	38 12 0
982	1165	29 46	14 11 0	1050	1233	12 94	9 0 0
983	1166	17 11	13 5 0	1051	1234	129 85	53 14 0
984	1167	24 68	21 8 0	1052	1235	17 88	12 12 0
985	1168	62 22	28 15 0	1053	1236	79 78	41 10 0
986	1169	211 47	105 11 0	1054	1237	40 45	47 10 9
987	1170	305 21	137 10 0	1055	1238	155 97	35 6 0
988	1171	38 59	36 2 0	1056	1239	2,149 61	1,067 6 0
989	1172	91 32	47 4 0	1057	1240	541 10	418 14 0
990	1173	52 95	41 4 0	1058	1241	726 56	540 3 0
991	1174	55 40	40 10 0	1059	1242	494 13	360 12 0
992	1175	101 73	29 7 0	1060	1243	1,353 66	773 11 8
993	1176	129 44	54 2 0	1061	1244	3,996 83	1,110 9 0
994	1177	367 84	211 9 0	1062	1245	3,134 14	229 0 0
995	1178	20 13	13 4 0	1063	1246	505 42	200 3 0
996	1179	379 49	139 6 0	1064	1247	1,178 46	314 10 0
997	1180	61 98	12 3 0	1065	1248	460 08	141 3 0
998	1181	17 42	16 14 0	1066	1249	169 20	47 12 0
999	1182	5 49	7 12 0	1067	1250	677 86	169 10 0
1000	1183	53 32	13 6 0	1068	1251	1,225 95	265 12 0
1001	1184	32 22	17 10 0	1069	1252	190 80	31 0 0
1002	1185	44 30	37 10 0	1070	1253	1,380 81	321 4 0
1003	1186	34 12	22 0 0	1071	1254	1,000 44	333 7 0
1004	1187	64 13	13 0 0	1072	1255	3,603 49	631 9 0
1005	1188	20 99	16 0 0	1073	1256	82 83	29 4 3
1006	1189	20 76	12 10 0	1074	1257	5 09	48 8 0
1007	1190	21 47	10 13 0	1075	1258	3 70	6 13 0
1008	1191	8 33	6 11 0	1076	1259	6 23	10 6 0
1009	1192	12 68	14 10 0	1077	1260	10 60	20 10 0
1010	1193	48 14	24 4 0	1078	1261	5 64	8 12 0
1011	1194	83 19	41 6 0	1079	1262	11 72	26 10 0
1012	1195	414 82	180 2 0	1080	1263	3 36	7 1 0
1013	1196	1,068 89	301 0 0	1081	1264	4 42	8 11 0
1014	1197	585 01	209 6 0	1082	1265	562 90	182 15 3

Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.
1083	1266	310 35	99 1 0	1151	1342	4 65	16 5 0
1084	1267	94 98	175 0 0	1152	1343	3 97	5 0 0
1085	1268	0 28	0 4 6	1153	1344	2 63	2 12 0
1086	1269	3 05	4 0 0	1154	1345	3 09	4 15 0
1087	1270	7 96	8 8 7	1155	1346	4 76	5 7 0
1088	1271	5 76	7 13 0	1156	1347	3 82	5 7 0
1089	1272	63 44	75 0 0	1157	1348	4 48	4 3 0
1090	1273	26 00	7 7 5	1158	1349	3 15	3 6 0
1091	1274	0 95	3 9 0	1159	1350	2 74	3 9 0
1092	1275	822 26	170 9 0	1160	1351	3 56	6 1 0
1093	1276	0 245	14 4 9	1161	1352	3 21	6 3 0
1094	1277	0 010	2 0 0	1162	1353	2 34	3 3 0
1095	1278	0 110	5 0 0	1163	1354	2 53	3 6 0
1096	1281	0 295	1 0 0	1164	1355	4 07	3 8 0
1097	1282	0 325	30 0 0	1165	1356	3 42	5 9 0
1098	1283	3,264 52	344 5 0	1166	1357	2 58	5 3 0
1099	1284	3,485 12	835 12 9	1167	1358	5 62	8 12 0
1100	1285	783 26	118 12 3	1168	1359	2 85	8 2 0
1101	1286	1,645 699	663 3 0	1169	1360	3 73	7 6 0
1102	1287	2,722 02	419 12 6	1170	1361	3 10	4 15 0
1103	1288	4 72	8 1 0	1171	1362	2 08	3 5 0
1104	1289	668 69	72 12 0	1172	1363	2 59	5 6 0
1105	1290	17 63	14 10 0	1173	1364	2 83	3 4 0
1106	1291	20 95	3 3 0	1174	1365	3 32	4 10 0
1107	1292	94 81	20 14 0	1175	1366	3 38	9 5 0
1108	1293	71 90	24 14 0	1176	1367	3 90	5 9 0
1109	1294	193 44	35 1 0	1177	1368	6 56	9 3 0
1110	1295	55 44	8 12 0	1178	1369	4 95	8 9 0
1111	1296	41 72	15 4 0	1179	1370	3 70	8 7 0
1112	1297	40 28	16 1 0	1180	1371	8 07	12 2 0
1113	1298	85 68	56 9 0	1181	1372	3 32	3 13 0
1114	1299	184 86	20 0 0	1182	1373	4 55	7 1 0
1115	1300	25 17	10 1 0	1183	1374	4 51	5 12 0
1116	1301	133 07	56 4 0	1184	1375	2 70	4 4 0
1117	1302	5,497 24	557 5 0	1185	1376	2 89	1 7 0
1118	1303	1,268 11	171 12 0	1186	1377	3 43	2 10 0
1119	1304	2,894 40	839 12 0	1187	1378	3 45	4 5 0
1120	1305	2,359 48	406 5 0	1188	1379	1 86	3 0 0
1121	1306	644 91	383 13 0	1189	1380	2 59	4 6 0
1122	1307	5 63	1 11 0	1190	1381	1 87	3 11 0
1123	1308	1,674 94	291 12 0	1191	1382	2 77	3 7 0
1124	1309	322 98	35 7 0	1192	1383	2 65	2 11 0
1125	1310	1,016 65	320 2 0	1193	1384	3 82	6 7 0
1126	1311	656 56	227 6 0	1194	1385	3 44	3 8 0
1127	1312	5 75	5 8 3	1195	1386	2 33	3 4 0
1128	1313	920 85	148 12 0	1196	1387	3 31	8 7 0
1129	1314	257 96	40 6 0	1197	1388	6 08	8 4 0
1130	1315	42 10	11 0 0	1198	1389	5 15	8 10 0
1131	1317	109 15	33 5 0	1199	1390	5 70	6 12 0
1132	1318	32 00	4 12 0	1200	1391	4 55	5 12 0
1133	1320	75 78	36 12 0	1201	1392	3 28	4 8 0
1134	1321	95 47	13 1 0	1202	1393	4 05	9 6 0
1135	1322	404 29	90 0 0	1203	1394	7 27	5 8 0
1136	1323	72 70	305 0 0	1204	1395	3 90	4 13 0
1137	1327	1,618 48	631 15 0	1205	1396	3 40	5 2 0
1138	1328	1,201 29	455 0 0	1206	1397	3 68	3 10 0
1139	1329	889 00	582 5 0	1207	1398	4 78	8 7 0
1140	1330	161 15	54 1 0	1208	1399	3 22	4 8 0
1141	1332	224 79	200 0 0	1209	1400	4 30	6 5 0
1142	1333	49 39	51 0 0	1210	1401	3 00	5 3 0
1143	1334	4 30	17 8 0	1211	1402	5 36	9 8 0
1144	1335	77 76	122 0 0	1212	1403	2 59	2 10 0
1145	1336	2 70	7 3 0	1213	1404	3 77	6 1 0
1146	1337	5 11	4 13 0	1214	1405	3 21	3 2 0
1147	1338	1 76	1 8 0	1215	1406	5 09	7 6 0
1148	1339	3 81	6 4 0	1216	1407	4 07	5 11 0
1149	1340	2 96	4 1 0	1217	1408	3 24	6 8 0
1150	1341	4 36	7 14 0	1218	1409	7 00	5 10 0

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.
1219	1410	3 61	9 9 0	1287	1478	2 92	5 4 0
1220	1411	3 56	6 12 0	1288	1479	5 02	7 0 0
1221	1412	4 27	6 4 0	1289	1480	0 44	1 7 0
1222	1413	2 71	3 13 0	1290	1481	2 95	1 15 0
1223	1414	2 61	4 0 0	1291	1482	4 45	8 1 0
1224	1415	3 83	5 8 0	1292	1483	2 92	3 13 0
1225	1416	2 03	3 6 0	1293	1484	3 42	5 11 0
1226	1417	4 16	6 14 0	1294	1485	4 27	3 13 0
1227	1418	2 97	6 2 0	1295	1487	52 20	64 2 0
1228	1419	3 46	6 4 0	1296	1488	2 45	3 10 0
1229	1420	1 68	2 2 0	1297	1489	2 19	2 12 0
1230	1421	3 02	4 11 0	1298	1490	3 30	1 9 0
1231	1422	3 05	4 11 0	1299	1491	3 07	5 9 0
1232	1423	2 83	4 9 0	1300	1492	4 31	8 5 0
1233	1424	4 93	7 1 0	1301	1493	3 29	7 6 0
1234	1425	2 09	4 4 0	1302	1494	2 93	5 14 0
1235	1426	5 33	7 13 0	1303	1495	4 24	8 0 0
1236	1427	5 20	8 8 0	1304	1496	4 34	8 14 0
1237	1428	4 22	6 5 0	1305	1497	2 77	5 14 0
1238	1429	3 92	8 1 0	1306	1498	3 30	6 10 0
1239	1430	4 48	12 1 0	1307	1499	6 64	13 6 0
1240	1431	3 64	6 4 0	1308	1500	2 85	7 13 0
1241	1432	4 13	7 14 0	1309	1501	4 73	9 12 0
1242	1433	3 82	8 6 0	1310	1502	3 73	9 4 0
1243	1434	3 90	9 14 0	1311	1503	6 04	5 4 0
1244	1435	3 84	4 11 0	1312	1504	4 02	6 13 0
1245	1436	7 45	14 15 0	1313	1505	4 12	5 7 0
1246	1437	3 18	6 10 0	1314	1506	5 64	5 7 0
1247	1438	3 16	5 14 0	1315	1507	3 73	4 9 0
1248	1439	3 38	6 13 0	1316	1508	3 02	7 4 0
1249	1440	3 36	4 1 0	1317	1509	4 36	8 14 0
1250	1441	3 54	6 14 0	1318	1510	2 81	5 15 0
1251	1442	3 26	3 3 0	1319	1511	5 48	10 3 0
1252	1443	4 14	6 1 0	1320	1512	2 11	0 12 0
1253	1442	3 03	5 11 0	1321	1513	2 15	1 7 0
1254	1445	3 55	7 2 0	1322	1514	3 26	3 10 0
1255	1446	6 01	4 1 0	1323	1515	2 04	4 3 0
1256	1447	3 21	4 1 0	1324	1516	2 98	5 12 0
1257	1448	3 67	4 10 0	1325	1517	2 62	5 10 0
1258	1449	3 02	3 8 0	1326	1518	3 14	1 1 0
1259	1450	7 14	11 9 0	1327	1519	4 22	8 5 0
1260	1451	5 88	8 2 0	1328	1520	1 84	2 8 0
1261	1452	2 61	2 11 0	1329	1521	2 97	5 0 0
1262	1453	2 58	3 12 0	1330	1522	4 56	4 3 0
1263	1454	2 58	3 7 0	1331	1523	2 35	3 11 0
1264	1455	4 91	2 2 0	1332	1524	2 34	2 14 0
1265	1456	2 32	2 11 0	1333	1525	5 22	4 9 0
1266	1457	1 19	2 0 0	1334	1526	5 78	10 9 0
1267	1458	10 71	10 9 0	1335	1527	3 63	6 0 0
1268	1459	3 77	7 6 0	1336	1528	4 79	9 1 0
1269	1460	3 71	7 4 0	1337	1529	3 95	12 1 0
1270	1461	1 59	1 4 0	1338	1530	4 35	9 8 0
1271	1462	5 19	8 13 0	1339	1531	2 60	3 2 0
1272	1463	3 63	3 2 0	1340	1532	2 61	6 0 0
1273	1464	1 90	1 11 0	1341	1533	2 94	4 5 0
1274	1465	3 06	4 3 0	1342	1534	5 21	6 4 0
1275	1466	1 29	2 8 0	1343	1535	2 97	4 3 0
1276	1467	4 23	3 0 0	1344	1536	1 48	3 13 0
1277	1468	1 67	3 11 0	1345	1537	2 08	3 12 0
1278	1469	3 51	4 5 0	1346	1538	3 80	6 14 0
1279	1470	4 08	8 15 0	1347	1539	2 05	3 14 0
1280	1471	1 97	3 12 0	1348	1540	2 78	4 7 0
1281	1472	2 35	4 2 0	1349	1542	2 26	4 4 0
1282	1473	4 53	3 13 0	1350	1543	4 21	9 3 0
1283	1474	5 07	15 3 0	1351	1544	1 93	3 5 0
1284	1475	3 83	4 3 0	1352	1545	2 27	4 5 0
1285	1476	2 600	5 1 0	1353	1546	4 64	7 11 0
1286	1477	1 15	1 6 0	1354	1547	2 60	6 14 0

Serial No.*	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres Dec.	Rs. A. P.
1355	1548	5 20	4 12 0	1423	1616	3 40	5 13 0
1356	1549	1 77	2 12 0	1424	1617	3 20	5 11 0
1357	1550	4 67	7 13 0	1425	1618	5 07	6 13 0
1358	1551	3 72	6 3 0	1426	1620	4 24	4 11 0
1359	1552	4 57	9 3 0	1427	1621	1 80	5 4 0
1360	1553	0 63	2 11 0	1428	1622	1 97	1 9 0
1361	1554	4 07	6 2 0	1429	1623	2 91	5 7 0
1362	1555	4 23	5 15 0	1430	1624	4 73	9 3 0
1363	1556	4 38	6 13 0	1431	1625	5 38	6 10 0
1364	1557	3 83	6 1 0	1432	1626	3 06	3 8 0
1365	1558	5 61	9 2 0	1433	1627	4 24	6 1 0
1366	1559	2 02	3 15 0	1434	1628	3 17	3 15 0
1367	1560	4 2	8 5 0	1435	1629	2 83	3 15 0
1368	1561	2 50	2 10 0	1436	1630	3 76	6 5 0
1369	1562	3 55	6 5 0	1437	1631	2 80	3 12 0
1370	1563	5 21	11 7 0	1438	1632	3 75	4 8 0
1371	1564	3 62	5 3 0	1439	1633	1 55	8 1 0
1372	1565	3 02	4 11 0	1440	1634	4 31	3 9 0
1373	1566	3 32	8 0 0	1441	1635	3 70	7 0 0
1374	1567	5 70	10 14 0	1442	1636	3 32	5 14 0
1375	1568	2 69	5 8 0	1443	1637	4 31	5 11 0
1376	1569	4 07	12 5 0	1444	1638	2 13	4 5 0
1377	1570	3 43	6 12 0	1445	1639	4 62	7 7 0
1378	1571	4 96	5 9 0	1446	1640	4 65	10 15 0
1379	1572	4 29	8 5 0	1447	1641	4 47	7 14 0
1380	1573	4 32	11 11 0	1448	1642	3 61	6 2 0
1381	1574	3 71	6 2 0	1449	1643	4 29	9 9 0
1382	1575	3 88	5 13 0	1450	1644	3 68	5 5 0
1383	1576	3 90	6 8 0	1451	1645	5 43	11 11 0
1384	1577	4 23	8 12 0	1452	1646	8 90	5 4 0
1385	1578	4 58	6 13 0	1453	1647	2 18	2 6 0
1386	1579	3 53	6 1 0	1454	1648	3 28	5 8 0
1387	1580	4 16	2 14 0	1455	1649	5 68	5 12 0
1388	1581	5 71	9 10 0	1456	1650	4 57	5 6 0
1389	1582	2 85	5 3 0	1457	1651	9 46	16 11 0
1390	1583	5 03	5 13 0	1458	1652	9 23	14 13 0
1391	1584	2 13	3 11 0	1459	1653	2 92	2 15 0
1392	1585	3 50	6 8 0	1460	1656	62 74*
1393	1586	4 21	8 0 0	1461	1659	214 26	9 6 0
1394	1587	4 45	6 6 0	1462	1660	317 64	6 5 0
1395	1588	5 77	9 10 0	1463	1661	308 68	22 10 0
1396	1589	3 74	6 4 0	1464	1662	77 21	23 6 0
1397	1590	1 86	2 9 0	1465	1663	157 89	38 8 0
1398	1591	3 15	3 13 0	1466	1664	175 63	29 10 0
1399	1592	4 05	4 3 0	1467	1665	130 39	9 12 0
1400	1593	2 25	1 7 0	1468	1666	30 54	2 4 0
1401	1594	1 54	3 0 0	1469	1667	95 08	7 2 0
1402	1595	1 93	3 9 0	1470	1668	6 04	2 6 0
1403	1596	4 29	4 1 0	1471	1669	52 45	15 12 0
1404	1597	3 33	4 15 0	1472	1670	32 66	8 2 0
1405	1598	1 45	2 9 0	1473	1671	89 85	27 0 0
1406	1599	4 19	7 9 0	1474	1675	1,608 39	308 4 0
1407	1600	2 05	4 5 0	1475	1677	3 16	3 13 0
1408	1601	3 54	6 3 0	1476	1678	4 87	18 15 0
1409	1602	3 79	7 6 0	1477	1679	4 34	15 15 0
1410	1603	2 05	3 10 0	1478	1680	2 18	0 12 0
1411	1604	3 19	2 11 0	1479	1681	2 88	3 10 0
1412	1605	3 73	9 3 0	1480	1682	5 59	22 13 0
1413	1606	4 88	7 6 0	1481	1684	4 560*
1414	1607	4 61	3 7 0	1482	1685	851 69	116 14 6
1415	1608	4 65	6 14 0	1483	1688	1 53	3 10 0
1416	1609	3 57	7 10 0	1484	1689	3 06	4 0 0
1417	1610	4 34	6 1 0	1485	1690	4 27	5 11 0
1418	1611	3 06	4 6 0	1486	1691	9 72	5 2 0
1419	1612	4 58	8 13 0	1487	1692	5 64	5 4 0
1420	1613	3 17	3 10 0	1488	1693	4 50	5 3 0
1421	1614	2 35	5 5 0	1489	1694	2 53	5 6 0
1422	1615	2 65	4 10 0	1490	1695	4 93	5 5 0

* Not settled.

Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.			Acres. Dec.	Rs. A. P.
1491	1696	5 34	9 10 0	1516	1723	2 59	5 0 0
1492	1697	5 24	7 12 0	1517	1724	16 96	64 4 0
1493	1698	1 13	1 7 0	1518	1725	4 09	3 11 0
1494	1699	2 53	3 5 0	1519	1726	3 47	13 0 0
1495	1700	3 99	5 4 0	1520	1727	65 26	2 10 0
1496	1701	3 12	5 13 0	1521	1728	33 35	4 9 0
1497	1702	1 66	3 8 0	1522	1730	53 74	118 4 0
1498	1703	1 25	2 6 0	1523	1748	0 41	19 10 0
1499	1704	2 81	5 1 0	1524	1771	90 08	10 0 0
1500	1705	92 52	73 0 0	1525	1772	0 260	2 4 0
1501	1706	5 06	96 0 0	1526	1774	4 838 *
1502	1708	17 78	16 3 0	1527	1781	5 35	7 13 0
1503	1710	8 07	6 0 0	1528	1783	130 00	405 0 0
1504	1711	7 60	3 13 0	1529	1788	4 56	8 6 0
1505	1712	3 18	5 0 0	1530	1789	135 73	20 6 0
1506	1713	0 15	0 2 0	1531	1792	0 930	5 0 0
1507	1714	4 52	4 8 0	1532	1817	173 11	100 8 0
1508	1715	3 52	4 1 0	1533	1818	41 26	6 2 0
1509	1716	3 63	4 7 0	1534	1819	51 19	12 13 0
1510	1717	4 15	6 8 0	1535	1820	20 86	20 14 0
1511	1718	4 01	5 0 0	1536	1821	60 29	140 12 0
1512	1719	4 88	6 2 0	1537	1822	671 79	790 3 3
1513	1720	4 05	5 1 0	Total ..		1,312,691 93	4,91,856 12 6
1514	1721	2 68	1 6 0				
1515	1722	5 68	7 0 0				

* Not settled.

List of revenue-paying estates of other districts which have lands in the district of Bankura.

Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Touzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.				Acres Dec.	
1	1 (Burdwan)	1,660 34	..	24	5812 (Burdwan)	2 60	..
2	2 ..	673 13	..	25	5813 ..	10 52	..
3	5 ..	692 11	..	26	5814 ..	34 73	..
4	10 ..	4,513 85	..	27	5815 ..	3 94	..
5	11 (Burdwan)	197 61	..	28	5816 ..	2 10	..
6	12 ..	4,179 08	..	29	5817 ..	3 72	..
7	18 ..	2,568 28	..	30	5818 ..	4 72	..
8	20 ..	452 88	..	31	5819 ..	6 75	..
9	24 ..	109 89	..	32	5820 ..	6 19	..
10	3663 ..	21 24	..	33	5821 ..	5 04	..
11	4517 ..	33 63	..	34	5822 ..	16 12	..
12	4868 ..	26 56	..	35	5823 ..	8 39	..
13	5268 ..	278 03	..	36	5824 ..	10 35	..
14	5627 ..	27 89	..	37	5825 ..	34 35	..
15	5769 ..	15 71	..	38	5826 ..	26 98	..
16	5770 ..	25 23	..	39	5827 ..	6 25	..
17	5771 ..	18 64	..	40	5828 ..	17 21	..
18	5772 ..	1 58	..	41	5829 ..	25 12	..
19	5807 ..	14 75	..	42	5830 ..	10 02	..
20	5808 ..	7 15	..	43	5831 ..	1 91	..
21	5809 ..	9 37	..	44	5832 ..	7 95	..
22	5810 ..	7 87	..	45	5833 ..	11 14	..
23	5811 ..	9 97	..	46	5834 ..	6 96	..

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres Dec.				Acres Dec.	
47	5835 (Burdwan)	18 93	..	67	2785 (Hooghly)	22 01	..
48	5836 "	1 84	..	68	2786 "	18 80	..
49	5837 "	24 72	..	69	2787 "	18 76	..
50	5838 "	8 05	..	70	3838 "	2 77	..
51	5839 "	9 51	..	71	3839 "	2 01	..
52	5840 "	18 20	..	72	3840 "	1 72	..
53	5841 "	1 36	..	73	3841 "	5 24	..
54	5842 "	10 16	..	74	4348 "	4 48	..
55	5843 "	3 45	..	75	4907 "	3 15	..
56	5844 "	5 67	..	76	4908 "	1 04	..
57	5845 "	3 32	..	77	4909 "	3 84	..
58	5847 "	2 22	..	78	4910 "	0 96	..
59	5848 "	6 68	..	79	4911 "	0 27	..
60	5850 "	1 78	..				
61	5851 "	1 28	..		Total ..	85 05	
62	5852 "	0 65	..				
63	5913 "	14 45	..				
64	5945 "	6 07	..	80	19 (Manbhum)	116.002 34	..
65	6572 "	7 59	..	81	1935 (Midnapur).	603 43	..
66	6605 "	30 70	..				
	Total ..	15,985 46		82	3072 "	67 90	..
					Total ..	671 33	..
					Total area of other districts.	132,744 18	

Revenue-free estates of the Bankura Roll in the district of Bankura.

Serial No.	BI. No.	Area.	Serial No.	BI. No.	Area.	Serial No.	BI. No.	Area.
		Acres Dec.			Acres Dec.			Acres Dec.
1	1	0 93	31	46	272 40	61	83B	48 76
2	2	0 22	32	47	259 06	62	84	51 68
3	3	6,437 75	33	51	719 27	63	85	222 35
4	4	205 94	34	52	19 50	64	86	39 38
5	5	49 54	35	53	57 800	65	88	7 44
6	6	148 37	36	54	161 55	66	89	6 28
7	7	31 05	37	55	630 295	67	89A	0 56
8	8	40 84	38	56	1 40	68	90	1 22
9	12	77 86	39	57	19 14	69	91	10 37
10	14	333 41	40	58	5 27	70	92	1 78
11	16	169 11	41	60	292 27	71	93	2 81
12	17	155 23	42	61	12 26	72	94	12 02
13	18	155 15	43	64	9 57	73	96	374 96
14	19	60 00	44	65	30 17	74	97	53 70
15	20	1 48	45	66	1,008 44	75	98	76 36
16	21	1 55	46	67	39 65	76	99	3 15
17	23	8 66	47	70	113 59	77	100	0 48
18	25	253 65	48	71	86 85	78	102	152 20
19	26	59 48	49	72	3 34	79	103	57 14
20	27	74 05	50	73	265 16	80	104	8 21
21	28	279 09	51	74	1 21	81	106	44 60
22	29	2 64	52	75	7 11	82	107	83 40
23	31	58 23	53	76	2 37	83	108	17 625
24	32	61 82	54	77	5 87	84	109	856 84
25	35	466 48	55	78	0 14	85	110	152 93
26	38	174 03	56	79	6 26	86	111	129 63
27	40	197 10	57	81	49 68	87	112	61 13
28	41	931 19	58	82	75 38	88	113	3 59
29	43	5 58	59	83	208 95	89	114	1 79
30	45	10 97	60	83A	2,110 88	90	115	14 66

Serial No.	B I. No.	Area.	Serial No.	B I. No.	Area.	Serial No.	B I. No.	Area.
		Acres Dec.			Acres Dec.			Acres Dec.
91	117	77 58	159	196	57 75	226	276	53 67
92	118	30 68	160	197	645 61	227	277	198 33
93	119	37 73	161	198	17 12	228	279	3 01
94	120	17 34	162	199	1 59	229	280	65 93
95	121	125 99	163	200	108 5	230	281	170 87
96	122	8 39	164	201	18 20	231	282	3 27
97	123	18 46	165	202	34 68	232	283	62 78
98	124	3 35	166	203	0 100	233	284	0 46
99	125	11 82	167	204	44 69	234	285	7 75
100	126	18 04	168	205	0 10	235	286	145 55
101	127	25 53	169	206	2,321 19	236	287	92 51
102	128	27 74	170	208	1,261 80	237	288	1 52
103	130	243 29	171	209	122 06	238	289	3 11
104	132	5 36	172	210	24 26	239	290	3 84
105	132A	8 24	173	211	225 01	240	291	25 82
106	133	11 28	174	212	353 37	241	292	17 68
107	134	233 27	175	213	302 84	242	293	636 815
108	135	77 89	176	215	1,110 81	243	294	82 02
109	136	167 16	177	216	219 22	244	295	132 91
110	137	27 47	178	217	62 37	245	295A	1 30
111	138	00 18	179	219	56 59	246	295B	0 58
112	139	36 84	180	221	27 69	247	296	33 89
113	140	134 47	181	222	18 37	248	296A	0 63
114	141	72 20	182	223	0 73	249	297	429 07
115	142	8 62	183	225	1 755	250	297A	0 46
116	143	2 20	184	226	58 67	251	298	77 85
117	144	65 10	185	227	129 33	252	299	178 30
118	144A	480 36	185A	228	51 65	253	301	3 27
119	145	21 28	186	229	54 103	254	302	136 56
120	146	63 41	187	230	50 76	255	303	267 85
121	147	214 38	188	231	163 285	256	304	71 78
122	148	267 37	189	232	60 67	257	303	65 38
123	149	72 22	190	233	64 62	258	310	5 37
124	150	305 97	191	234	5 79	259	311	37 91
125	151	139 25	192	235	122 18	260	312	50 80
126	152	115 30	193	236	329 69	261	313	623 07
127	153	88 31	194	237	118 11	262	314	86 45
128	154	26 20	195	238	219 91	263	315	565 89
129	155	109 27	196	239	477 740	264	316	21 45
130	156	50 48	197	240	949 57	265	317	95 41
131	157	65 71	198	241	19 03	266	318	44 60
132	159	27 875	199	242	305 11	267	319	2 91
133	161	13 645	200	246	244 09	268	320	36 41
134	164	14 94	201	247	33 74	269	321	213 97
135	165	344 70	202	248	78 54	270	323	81 45
136	166	256 81	203	250	40 95	271	324	131 74
137	167	263 08	204	251	0 80	272	325	329 88
138	168	66 24	205	252	88 55	273	327	68 46
139	171	73 15	206	253	475 20	274	329	67 60
140	172	313 21	207	254	91 95	275	330	68 15
141	173	1,167 64	208	255	3 38	276	331	3 928
142	174	16 76	209	256	36 09	277	334	105 77
143	176	185 20	210	257	29 38	278	335	6 11
144	177	341 032	211	258	578 49	279	336	436 85
145	178	197 20	212	259	54 45	280	337	15 13
146	179	51 64	213	260	176 12	281	338	237 24
147	181	46 23	214	261	29 65	282	339	58 88
148	182	110 15	215	262	19 68	283	340	9 70
149	183	5 78	216	265	79 4	284	341	3 69
150	184	32 31	217	266	118 47	285	342	216 28
151	185	179 97	218	267	11 55	286	344	36 94
152	186	29 28	219	268	58 10	287	345	0 28
153	189	295 57	220	269	264 68	288	347	20 63
154	190	246 38	221	270	17 51	289	348	32 24
155	191	84 43	222	271	513 52	290	349	772 59
156	192	16 69	223	272	6 04	291	351	3 11
157	193	158 685	224	273	47 58	292	352	37 01
158	194	134 29	225	275	48 66	293	353	144 72

Serial No.	B. I. No.	Area.	Serial No.	B. I. No.	Area.	Serial No.	B. I. No.	Area.
		Acres Dec.			Acres Dec.			Acres Dec.
294	355	87 41	334	402	53 92	374	446	0 10
295	356	47 54	335	403	15 25	375	447	0 03
296	358	220 56	336	404	10 83	376	..	0 09
297	359	383 14	337	406	216 37	377	..	0 07
298	360	189 66	338	407	555 49	378	..	0 33
299	361	294 98	339	410	41 29	379	..	0 03
300	363	71 53	340	414	3 31	380	..	0 35
301	364	142 180	341	415	4 34	381	..	0 170
302	365	44 72	342	416	37 54	382	..	0 655
303	366	5 75	343	417	304 54	383	..	0 051
304	367	47 45	344	418	69 02	384	..	0 375
305	368	12 70	345	419	27 88	385	..	0 690
306	369	3 24	346	420	43 49	386	..	0 792
307	370	54 48	347	421	17 47	387	..	0 251
308	371	70 600	348	422	3 68	388	..	0 010
309	372	73 22	349	423	37 55	389	..	0 030
310	375	17 28	350	424	78 61	390	..	0 295
311	376	4 05	351	425	0 51	391	..	0 055
312	377	64 66	352	425A	0 62	392	..	0 54
313	378	93 02	353	426	0 11	393	..	4 97
314	379	39 03	354	427	0 11	394	..	1 12
315	380	560 98	355	428	0 08	395	451	1 85
316	381	451 46	356	429	0 08	396	452	1 07
317	382	113 17	357	430	0 10	397	453	1 14
318	383	2 82	358	431	0 10	398	454	1 44
319	384	909 36	359	432	0 10	399	455	3 67
320	385	21 13	360	433	0 13	400	456	0 78
321	386	38 20	361	434	0 16	401	457	0 84
322	387	46 98	362	435	0 16	402	458	1 74
323	388	1,071 85	363	435A	0 14	403	459	0 43
324	389	6 98	364	436	0 14	404	460	1 21
325	391	181 65	365	437	0 14	405	461	1 42
326	392	41 77	366	438	0 12	406	462	0 80
327	393	506 70	367	439	0 14	407	463	1 02
328	396	543 96	368	440	0 15	408	464	0 70
329	397	29 93	369	441	0 15	409	465	2 73
330	398	3 64	370	442	0 16	410	466	0 63
331	399	2 23	371	443	0 33	412	467	1 65
332	400	3 82	372	444	0 44			
333	401	318 85	373	445	0 22			57,308 61

Revenue-free estates of other districts which have lands in the district of Bankura.

Serial No.	B. I. No.	Area.	Serial No.	B. I. No.	Area.
		Acres Dec.			Acres Dec.
1	137 (Burdwan)	6 96	18	655 ..	83 49
2	153 ..	122 34	19	672 ..	7 97
3	194 ..	5 70	20	678 (Burdwan)	37 89
4	203 ..	61 02	21	946 ..	0 82
5	207 ..	11 40	22	1028 ..	0 76
6	331 ..	0 87			
7	352 ..	1 95		Total ..	495 29
8	373 ..	11 29			
9	394 ..	42 62	1	994 (Hooghly)	3 57
10	439 ..	18 73	2	980 ..	14 76
11	479 ..	0 71			
12	489 ..	14 50		Total ..	18 33
13	550 ..	21 79			
14	562 ..	6 49	1	33 (Manbhum)	1,243 38
15	573 ..	9 20	2	54 ..	963 86
16	577 ..	13 63			
17	633 ..	15 16			2,207 24

APPENDIX · XIV.

Met of staff employed.

List of abbreviations used in this list.

" A "	stands for Attestation.
" C "	do. Cadastral.
" C W "	do. Case Work under sections 105 and 106, Bengal Tenancy Act
" O "	do. Objections.
" J "	do. Final Janch.
" R "	do. Recovery.
" N "	do. Noting Section.
" P "	do. Press.
" C "	do. Computation.
" G "	do. Ghatwali Resumption.

Names of officers.	Nature of duties.
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Indian Civil Service.

1. F. W. Robertson, I.C.S.	.. Settlement Officer, Superintendent of Survey.
2. J. R. Blair, I.C.S.	.. Assistant Settlement Officer in charge.
3. T. M. Dow, I.C.S.	.. Ditto.

Deputy Collectors.

1. Babu Satamanyu Mukherjee	.. Assistant Settlement Officer in charge.
2. „ Surendra N. Banerjee	.. Ditto.
3. „ Jamini Prosanna Roy	.. C, A, O, J.
4. „ Upendra Nath Ghose	.. C, A, O, J.
5. „ Birendra Mohan Ghose	.. C, A, O, J.
6. „ Profulla Ch. Sen	.. C.
7. „ Jogesh Ch. Mittra	.. C, W.
8. „ Amulya Kumar Guha	.. C, Hq. A. S. O., Assistant Settlement Officer in charge.
9. „ Krishna Gopal Ghose	.. C, A.

Judicial Service (Munsiffs).

1. Babu Khirodeswar Banerjee	.. C, A, O.
2. „ Bama Charan Chakraverty	.. C, A, O.
3. „ Atul Behari Dutta	.. C, A, O, J.
4. „ Ram Lal Banerjee	.. C.
5. Moulvi Abdul Ahsan	.. C, A, O, J.
6. Babu Jotindra Kumar Bose	.. C, A, O, J.
7. „ Protul Chandra Roy	.. C, A, O.
8. „ Jyotish Chandra Gupta	.. C, A.

Sub-Deputy Collectors.

1. Babu Sanat Kumar Mukherjee	.. C.
2. „ Anil Chandra Lahiry	.. C, A, O, J, CW, H. Q. A. S. O.
3. „ Mriganka Bhusan Roy	.. C, A, O, J, CW.
4. „ Chintaharan Das Gupta	.. C, A, O, J, CW.
5. Sashi Bhusan Ghose	.. Technical Adviser.
6. Maulvi Asad Hussein	.. C, A, O, J.
7. „ Mofizuddin Fakir	.. C, A, O, J.
8. Babu Anath Bondhu Chatterjee	.. Hq. A. S. O.
9. „ Ashutosh Chowdhury	.. A, C, O, J.
10. Sheikh Abdulla	.. C, A, O.
11. Babu Birchandra Mukherjee	.. C, A, O, J, CW.
12. „ Prokriti Nath Bose	.. C, A, O, J, CW.
13. Maulvi Fazlar Rahaman	.. C, A, O, J.
14. Babu Jotindra Mohan Mukherjee	.. C.
15. „ Naba Gopal Roy	.. C, A.
16. Maulvi Jamiluddin Ahmed	.. C.
17. Babu Harendra Nath Mukherjee	.. C, A.
18. Maulvi Nazir Hussein	.. C, A, CW.
19. Babu Probhat Ch. Sen	.. CW.

Names of officers.

Nature of duties.

Revenue Officers.

1.	Babu Sirta Nath Das Gupta	.. A, R.
2.	„ Hari Mohan Dutta	.. A.
3.	„ Upendra Nath Banerjee	.. A, R, J, N, Co, P, G
4.	„ Satish Chandra Sinha	.. C, A, J, R.
5.	„ Rajendra Nath Banerjee	C, A, J.
6.	„ Barada Charan Chakra-	A, J.
	verthy.	
7.	Maulvi N. A. Kaheer	.. A, J.
8.	Babu Hemanga Lal Das Gupta	.. C, A, J.
9.	„ Monindra Nath Banerjee	C, A, J, R.
10.	„ Haridas Majumdar	.. A.
11.	„ Chandra Mohan Karmakar	A.
12.	„ Jogendra Chandra Banerjee	A.
13.	„ Promotha Nath Choudhury	A.
14.	„ Basanta Kumar Ganguly	A.
15.	„ Kumudini Nath Roy	.. A.
16.	„ Sarat Chandra Dutta	.. C, A.
17.	Mahammad Sadek	.. A.
18.	Babu Hemanta Kumar Koyral	C, A, J.
19.	„ Hira Lal Karmakar	.. A.

Kanungos.

1.	Babu Surendra Nath Gupta	..
2.	„ Jogesh Chandra Bose	..
3.	„ Jotindra Nath Sen	..
4.	„ Dhirananda Das Gupta	..
5.	„ Nirendra Kumar Das Gupta	..
6.	Maulvi Abdul Karim Khan	..
7.	„ Afzalal Haque	..
8.	Babu Nalini Mohan Chakraverty	
9.	Maulvi Samsul Haque	..
10.	Babu Jogendra Nath Mallik	.. A.
11.	Maulvi Ahadali	..
12.	Babu Durgapada Banerjee	..
13.	Maulvi Scrajal Ishlam	..
14.	Babu Aboni Kanta Ray	..
15.	Maulvi Ramizuddin Ahamad	..
16.	Babu Girendra Mohan Ray	..
17.	„ Hemanta Kumar Ray	..
18.	„ Brojendra Nath Mitra	..
19.	„ Dharendra Chandra Sen	..
20.	„ Khagendra Nath Sen	..
21.	Maulvi Matiar Rahman	..
22.	Babu Promoda Prasad Mazumdar	
23.	Maulvi Jalaluddin	..
24.	Babu Narendra Nath Singh	..
25.	„ Hridoy Bhuson Mukherjee	..
26.	Maulvi A. J. M. Obeder Rahaman	
27.	Babu Sailendra Nath Mukherjee	
28.	„ Rama Prasanna Saha	..
29.	„ Khudiram Bhattacharjee	..
30.	„ Biseswar Mazumdar	..
31.	„ Provash Chandra Chatterjee	..
32.	„ Krishna Chandra Mazumdar	..
33.	„ Broja Gopal Sen	..
34.	„ Kali Das Mukherjee	..
35.	„ Bagala Charan Ghosh	..
36.	„ Hari Pada Chatterjee	..
37.	„ Jnanendra Nath Das Gupta	..
38.	„ Kali Pada Roy Choudhury	..
39.	Maulvi Mohammad Hayet	..
40.	Babu Phani Bhuson Mitra	..
41.	„ Sadananda Mukherjee	..
42.	Maulvi Badaruddin Ahamad	..
43.	Babu Rabi Prashad Dutta	..
44.	„ Basanta Kumar Sen	..
45.	Maulvi Chowdhury Golam Mahboob	
46.	Babu Manindra Chandra Dutta	
47.	„ Mohini Mohan Chowdhury	
48.	„ Kedar Nath Maity	..

Names of officers.

Nature of duties.

Kanungos—contd.

49.	Babu	Ramdeb Gyan	..
50.	"	Rohini Kumar Dutta	..
51.	"	Shyama Kanta Ganguly	..
52.	"	Surendra Narayan Sarkar	..
53.	"	Nagendra Kumar Banerjee	..
54.	Maulvi	Teyabuddin Ahamad	..
55.	Babu	Chinta Haran Sen Gupta	..
56.	"	Benoy Bhuson Sen	..
57.	"	Kali Mohan Ray Chowdhury	..
58.	"	Chandra Mohan Dutta	..
59.	Maulvi	Abdul Aziz Akhan	..
60.	Babu	Kunja Behari Dutta	..
61.	Maulvi	Ali Newaj Khan	..
62.	Mr. R. J. D'Silva		..
63.	Maulvi	Abul Husen	..
64.	Babu	Jogadish Chandra Bhatta- charjee.	..
65.	"	Dhananjoy Barma	..
66.	"	Dwijendra Kumar Mukher- jee.	..
67.	"	Surendra Nath Mukherjee	..
68.	Maulvi	Daliluddin Ahamad	..
69.	Babu	Manmath Nath Ghosh Hazra.	..
70.	"	Kamala Kanta Batabyal	..
71.	"	Satish Chandra Dutta	..
72.	"	Jata Bhuson Ganguly	..
73.	"	Keshob Lal Sen	..
74.	†	Hirendra Nath Basu	..
75.	"	Rajendra Nath Bhatta- charjee.	..
76.	"	Bijon Behari Mittra	..
77.	"	Nitya Nanda Chakravarty	..
78.	"	Sachindra Kumar Ganguly	..
79.	"	Indu Bhuson Chatterjee	..
80.	"	Mrityunjoy Mukherjee	..
81.	"	Rajoni Kanta Chakravarty	..
82.	Maulvi	Abdul Razzak	..
83.	"	Rajjabali	..
84.	"	Abdul Wahed	..
85.	"	Samiraddin Kazi	..
86.	Babu	Sasadhar Chakravarty	..
87.	"	Upendra Kishore Maz- umdar.	..
88.	"	Anukul Chandra Das	..
89.	Maulvi	Fazlal Karim Khan	..
90.	Babu	Upendra Chandra Das Gupta.	..
91.	Maulvi	Kazi Abdul Ghani	..
92.	Babu	Chandra Nath Chakra- varty.	..
93.	"	Nani Gopal Mukherjee	..
94.	"	Manindra Mohan Sen	..
95.	"	Satish Chandra Chatterjee	..
96.	"	Santosh Kumar Bhatta- charjee	..
97.	"	Nalini Kanta Das Gupta	..
98.	Maulvi	Rahamtulla	..
99.	Babu	Narendra Nath Sen Gupta	..
100.	"	Mohini Mohan Dutta	..
101.	"	Radha Charan Mandal	..
102.	"	Nalini Prasanna Gupta	..
103.	"	Parameswar Sanyal	..
104.	"	Ram Ratan Ghosh	..
105.	"	Kali Das Mukherjee, II	..
106.	"	Hemendra Nath Bose	..
107.	"	Krishna Chandra Rai	..
108.	Maulvi	Motaharali Khan	..
109.	Babu	Bijoy Bhuson Roy	..
110.	Maulvi	Abdus Salam	..
111.	Babu	Hangseswar Panja	..

Names of officers.

Nature of duties.

Kanungos—concl'd.

112.	Babu Jagneswar Mazumdar	..
113.	„ Anukul Chandra Das Gupta.	..
114.	Maulvi Kubbatali	..
115.	Babu Jogendra Nath Ghosh	..
116.	„ Jotindra Mohan Mazumdar..	..
117.	Maulvi Jahidlal Islam	..
118.	Babu Narayan Chandra Putatunda	..
119.	„ Suresh Chandra Sen	..
* 120.	„ Jogendra Kumar Lodh	..
121.	„ Souribilash Mukherjee	..
122.	„ Jotindra Kumar Nag	..
123.	„ Prabhat Chandra Bose	..
124.	„ Prafulla Chandra Bhadra	..
125.	„ Bishnu Pada Chatterjee	..

APPENDIX XV.

NOTIFICATIONS.

No. 1043 T.R.—The 12th September 1917.—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 101 (I) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), and with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, the Governor in Council is pleased to order that a survey shall be made and a record-of-rights prepared in respect of the lands comprised in thanas Khatra, Simlapal and Bankura (only Chatna police-station) of the district of Bankura.

The particulars to be recorded in the record-of-rights shall be the following:—

- (a) The name of each tenant or occupant.
- (b) The class to which each tenant belongs, that is to say whether he is a tenure-holder, raiyat holding at fixed rents or rates, settled raiyat, occupancy raiyat, non-occupancy raiyat, or under-raiyat, and if he is a tenure-holder, whether he is a permanent tenure-holder or not and whether his rent is liable to enhancement during the continuance of his tenure.
- (c) The situation and quantity, and one or more of the boundaries of the land held by each tenant or occupier.
- (d) The name of each tenant's landlord.
- (e) The name of each proprietor, with the character and extent of his interest, and the situation, quantity and one or more of the boundaries of the lands, if any, which are his private lands as defined in Chapter XI of the Act.
- (f) The rent and cess lawfully payable by each tenant at the time the record-of-rights is being prepared.
- (g) The mode in which that rent has been fixed, whether by contract, by order of a court, or otherwise.
- (h) If the rent is gradually increasing rent, the time at which, and the steps by which it increases.
- (i) The rights and obligations of each tenant and landlord in respect of—
 - (i) the use by tenants of water for agricultural purposes, whether obtained from a river, *jhil*, tank or well or any other source of supply, and
 - (ii) the repair and maintenance of appliances for securing a supply of water for cultivation of the land held by each tenant, whether or not such appliances be situated within the boundaries of such land.
- (j) The special conditions and incidents, if any, of the tenancy.
- (k) Any right of way or other easement attaching to the land for which a record-of-rights is being prepared.
- (l) If the land is claimed to be held rent-free, whether or not rent is actually paid, and if not paid, whether or not the occupant

is entitled to hold the land without payment of rent, and if so entitled, under what authority.

L. BIRLEY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 7535 L.R.—The 13th September 1918.—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 101 (I) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), and in continuation of Notification No. 1043 T.R., dated the 12th September 1917, published at page 1495, Part I of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 19th *idem*, directing a survey and preparation of record-of-rights in respect of the lands comprised in a certain portion of the district of Bankura, the Governor in Council is pleased, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, to direct that a survey shall be made and record-of-rights prepared in respect of the remainder of the district of Bankura as well as of the area comprised in the Asansol Subdivision of the district of Burdwan.

The particulars to be recorded in the survey and record-of-rights shall be the following:—

- (a) The name of each tenant or occupant.
- (b) The class to which each tenant belongs, that is to say, whether he is a tenure-holder, raiyat holding at fixed rents or rates, settled raiyat, occupancy raiyat, non-occupancy raiyat or under-raiyat, and if he is a tenure-holder, whether he is a permanent tenure-holder or not, and whether his rent is liable to enhancement during the continuance of his tenure.
- (c) The situation and quantity, and one or more of the boundaries of the land held by each tenant or occupier.
- (d) The name of each tenant's landlord.
- (e) The name of each proprietor with the character and extent of his interest, and the situation, quantity and one or more of the boundaries of the lands, if any, which are his private lands as defined in Chapter XI of the Act.
- (f) The rent and cess lawfully payable by each tenant at the time the record-of-rights is being prepared.
- (g) The mode in which that rent has been fixed, whether by contract, by order of a Court, or otherwise.
- (h) If the rent is a gradually increasing rent, the time at which and the steps by which it increases.
- (i) The rights and obligations of each tenant and landlord in respect of—
 - (i) the use by tenants of water for agricultural purposes, whether obtained from a river, *jhil*, tank or well or any other source of supply, and
 - (ii) the repair and maintenance of appliances for securing a supply of water for the cultivation of the land held by each tenant, whether or not such appliances be situated within the boundaries of such land.

(j) The special conditions and incidents, if any, of the tenancy.

(k) Any right of way or other easement attaching to the land for which a record-of-rights is being prepared.

(l) If the land is claimed to be rent-free, whether or not rent is actually paid, and if not paid, whether or not the occupant is entitled to hold the land without payment of rent, and if so entitled, under what authority.

L. BIRLEY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 8080 L.R.—*The 24th September 1920.*—Under the powers conferred by section 3 of the Bengal Alluvion and Diluvion Act of 1847 (Act IX of 1847), the Governor in Council is pleased to order that a new survey be made and new maps be prepared according to such survey of the lands on the banks and in the beds of all rivers within and forming the administrative boundaries of the district of Bankura.

L. BIRLEY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

APPENDIX XVI.

Agricultural stock statement, Bankura District.

Number of homestead plots.	Bulls.	Bulls reared or bred in Government farm with name of farm.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Calves.	Male buffaloes.	Female buffaloes.	Buffalo calves.	Sheep.	Goats.	Horses and ponies.	Mules.	Donkeys.	Elephants.	Camels.	Pigs.	Ploughs.	Carts.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
157,561	13,108	291	173,698	180,865	187,559	31,067	24,767	16,999	35,036	115,006	1,629	7	6	3	12	11,221	89,253	40,768

APPENDIX XVII.

Copies of important correspondence.

1. Correspondence with respect to the right of Government in the bed of certain rivers in the district.
2. Correspondence regarding the 8th mile of the Raniganj-Midnapore Road.
3. Correspondence regarding the separation of the lands of T. W. 1126 from the lands of the group of estates forming T. W. 455.
4. Correspondence regarding the resumption of Ghatwali lands in the district of Bankura.

Office of the Settlement Officer.

1.

U. O. No. 1719.

Dated Bankura, the 5th February, 1921.

Director of Land Records—

Four rivers in the northern portion of this district, *viz.*, Darakeswar, Gondheswari, Sali and Bodlai, have been shown in the thak statement as belonging to Sarkar Bahadur. Apparently on the basis of this the Collector entered these rivers in two registers which he called Registers of Government khas lands.

Moreover the Collector has apparently successfully claimed on behalf of Government all fishery rights in these rivers and all lands formed in the beds of these rivers. No objection seems to have been raised. In the rest of "D" block the bed of the Darakeswar has shifted generally to a considerable extent and it will be necessary to take action in respect of the lands thus formed.

Will you kindly give me instruction as to whether these lands should be claimed as the khas lands of Government or merely assessed to revenue. It is possible that there may be papers in the Board's Library, explaining this apparently curious claim on the part of the Government, though I think that it is unlikely. I can find no papers at all in the Collectorate and have therefore come to the conclusion that this claim is based solely on the entry in the thak.

F. W. ROBERTSON,
Settlement Officer.

No. 271 R.R., dated the 8th March, 1921.

From—The Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.

To—The Director of Land Records, Bengal.

With reference to your letter No. XIV/6-2940, addressed to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Bengal, enquiring whether there are any papers showing the entry of four rivers in the district of Bankura as Sarkar Bahadur's which has been transferred to this office for disposal, I am directed to say that a careful search has been made for the

papers in question from 1854-58 but no clue to such correspondence could be traced. I am further to say that under Government order No. 541, dated the 12th September 1859, to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, all navigable rivers were declared as Government property, and as regards the lands formed in the bed of the rivers Regulation XI of 1825 and Act IX of 1847 might be consulted.

No. 49, dated Bankura, the 14th April, 1921.

From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Bankura,

To—The Director of Land Records, Bengal.

I have the honour to address you on the subject of certain rivers in this district which are shown in thak map as appertaining to "Sarkar Bahadur". There is also in the Collectorate a register called the "Khas Register" in which are entered all khas lands of Government. Now in this register, which was prepared shortly after the thak survey, these rivers are entered as belonging to Government.

In certain cases fishery rights in these rivers have been let out by the Collector, and in certain cases chars newly forming on these rivers have been taken possession of in the name of Government and administered as Khas Mahals.

In spite of search I have been unable to find any reason for the claim of such rights or of such lands on behalf of Government except only the entry in the thak map. It would appear to me, therefore, that such claims have been made without any legal justification.

I have the honour, therefore, to request that you will be so good as to instruct me whether I should continue to regard these rivers and their beds as the property of Government or whether I should regard the whole claim of Government as being based on a mistake, and should record the rivers where they are less than 3 chains in breadth, as belonging to the estate within whose ambit they fall.

The matter is of some importance, as the course of the river at least has changed considerably since the time of the Revenue Survey.

No. XLIV/22-4038, dated Calcutta, the 25th April, 1921.

From—The Director of Land Records, Bengal.

To—The Settlement Officer of Bankura.

With reference to your letter No. 49, dated the 14th April 1921, on the subject of ownership of certain rivers in the district of Bankura, I have the honour to enquire whether the Khas Register referred to by you has no number assigned to it and which of the registers in the Register and Return Manual it corresponds to; I would request you to send me a copy of the entry with all the columns properly indicated.

No. 150, dated Bankura, the 10th May, 1921.
From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Bankura,
To—The Director of Land Records, Bengal.

In reply to your letter No. XIIV/22—4038 of the 25th April 1921, I have the honour to send annexed copy of the heading of the Khas Register. It has been given number 56 in the Register of Registers in the Collectorate record-room under head "Settlement and Survey" and appears to have been compiled in or about 1854-55. It does not correspond to any register in the Register and Return Manual. The rivers under reference have been entered in another register in the Collectorate described as Mahalawar Register, heading of which is annexed herewith with a sample entry. It will be seen that this heading corresponds more or less to Register "A" of Revenue-paying lands. The total area of the rivers as shown in this latter register is shown below:—

	A.	R.	P.
River Gondheswari..	339	2	12
Dwarakeswar ..	6,298	2	12
Bodai ..	1,382	2	27
Sali ..	1,382	2	27

No. XLIV/22-442 T., dated Calcutta, the 13th June, 1921.

From—F. A. SACHSE, Esq., I.C.S., Director of Land Records, Bengal,
To—The Settlement Officer of Bankura.

With reference to your letter No. 49, dated the 14th April 1921, and subsequent correspondence regarding four rivers which are shown in the thak maps and also in certain Collectorate registers as the khas property of the Government, I have the honour to reply that it is a case for recording strict facts in the settlement records. As the rivers are less than 3 chains wide on the average, you cannot enter them outside the record khatian. Certain islands and certain fisheries are actually in the possession of Government and no private parties have contested these facts or put any claim. If they did, such claims would be barred by limitation. In the circumstances the existing course of the rivers would be entered in the Bharat Samrat Khatian.

On the other hand, as you say the real original title of Government to these rivers is doubtful and no attempt should be made to resume or to regain by civil suits the areas which are possessed by the private parties which lie in earlier course of the same rivers.

No. 738, dated Bankura, the 25th October, 1921.

From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Bankura,
To—The Director of Land Records, Bengal.

With reference to your letter No. 442 T., dated the 13th May 1921, on the subject of

certain rivers in the district of Bankura, I have the honour to observe as follows.

2. Two of the premises on which you have based your orders are incorrect, viz.—

- (a) The right of Government to the fisheries has been contested, and there is in fact a suit now pending against Government filed by the Maharaja of Burdwan contesting the right of Government to all these fisheries.
- (b) Claims of private parties are not barred by limitation as the oldest settlement by Government on these rivers dates only from 1914.

In point of fact only two chars have been settled on all these rivers and the other settlements are of fisheries.

As I have pointed out in my previous letters I am convinced that the claim of Government to these rivers will not stand the scrutiny of a court of law and I am strongly of opinion that it is desirable to compromise with the Maharaja of Burdwan in respect of the suit which he has filed.

I cannot but suppose that an entry in the record as ordered by you to the effect that the beds of these rivers belong to Government will be likely to lead Government to expense and litigation which would be without justification.

I have the honour to request therefore that you will reconsider your order in the matter or take legal advice in the subject.

No. 186, dated Bankura, the 20th May 1922.

From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Bankura,
To—The Director of Land Records, Bengal.

With reference to the correspondence resting with my letter No. 738, dated the 20th October 1921, regarding the right to property in the beds of certain rivers of this district, I have the honour to point out that no orders have yet been received as to whether Government proposes to maintain or give up the claims.

As verbally ordered by you these rivers are now being recorded as "outside the record", but without clear order on the subject it is impossible to proceed to settlement of the chars which have formed on the beds of the rivers.

I have the honour therefore to request you to be so good as to take steps that I may receive very early order on the subject.

No. XIV/14-4658, dated Calcutta, the 7th June 1922.

From—F. A. SACHSE, Esq., I.C.S., Director of Land Records, Bengal,
To—The Settlement Officer of Bankura.

With reference to your letter of the 20th May 1922, I have the honour to say that I understand that the whole length of the rivers Gondeswari, Darakeswar, Bodai and Sali have been recorded in the record-of-rights as outside the record. In these rivers there are

certain chars, two of which have been settled by Government and others are not sufficiently developed to be worth settlement.

The intention of the orders conveyed to you, not verbally but unofficially, in my letter of the 17th December 1921 was that these chars should all be recorded in the names of their possessors. Apparently there are three classes of cases:—

(1) The two chars settled by Government, about one of which a civil suit with the Maharaja of Burdwan is pending. They will be recorded in the names of their possessors as a khas mahal under Government. If no touzi number has ever been assigned, the Collector will be asked to assign one. If you so desire you can suggest to the Collector that the civil suit should be compromised by converting the char into a temporarily-settled estate and allowing 30 per cent. of the assets to the Maharaja.

(2) Chars which are accretions to permanently-settled estates in the banks. These must be recorded as part of those estates and you must ascertain whether the total area accreted, in several blocks, to one estate is worth resumption proceedings and, if so, institute proceedings after final publication.

(3) Island chars not fit for cultivation. If they are pure sand, they can be left outside the record as part of the river. If they will shortly be fit for cultivation they should be recorded in the khas possession of the Government pending 106 suits on the strength of the thak entries and the Collector or Board asked to assign touzi number. One for each river would be sufficient. If they are likely to have any value in the near future, it would probably be sounder to draw up proceedings under Act IX of 1847 and offer settlement to the proprietors of the estates on the banks.

The case is obviously one on which the Board should pass order and not Government, but the material in my file is quite inadequate for the purpose of submitting a case to the Board either as regards (a) the assignment of touzi numbers, and the treatment of the island chars as Government estates, or as accretion to permanently-settled estates which can be resumed now or later, or (b) the advisability of resumption proceedings.

If you are in a position to ask for orders now, a self-contained statement of the various problems and the alternative orders which you think possible should be submitted through the Commissioner to the Board or to me as you prefer.

No. 288, dated Bankura, the 21st June, 1922.
From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S.,
Settlement Officer of Bankura,
To—The Collector of Bankura.

I have the honour to address you on the subject of the following four rivers of the district, with the request that you will be so good as to obtain the orders of the Board of Revenue, Bengal, as to the future attitude to be adopted in respect of them:—

Rivers Bodai, Darakeswar, Sali and Gondheswari.

2. The judgment of their Lordships of the Privy Council in appeal Nos, 187 and 188 of 1919, in what are known as the Damodar Char appeals, has finally settled the principles to be adopted in the case of chars forming in the beds of non-navigable rivers, viz., that such chars are to be treated as unsettled and therefore liable to settlement and assessment to revenue.

3. The four rivers mentioned stand however on a difficult footing, for, though there can be no question that, so far as the Bankura district is concerned, they are both non-tidal and non-navigable, they have been recorded in the statement prepared at the time of the thakbust survey as belonging to Sarkar Bahadur.

4. In so far as Bankura is concerned the decision of the Privy Council in the Damodar Char appeals deal with two separate suits—

- (i) T. S. No. 246 of 1911 which is concerned with the Damodar and its char and
- (ii) T. S. No. 216 of 1911 which is concerned with the char formed in the bed of the Darakeswar within mauza Khatnagar.

The claim of Government to property in the Khatnagar char, which was based on the entry in the thakbust statement, was not decided in the appellate judgments at all.

It was thus disposed of by the learned Sub-Judge in his judgment in the original suit:—

“The river is not navigable admittedly and under the circumstances of the case the Government has no right in the river and its bed so far as it is situated in mauza Khatnagar. But the defendant No. 1 produces the thak map of mauza Khatnagar which shows that though the river is included in the mauza yet it is measured as a separate chak (No. 2) and noted as the property of Government. The statement in the thak map itself shows the reason of this. The statement shows that the patnidars of the mauza who only were consulted refused to get it included in their patni mahal as it was unproductive, being dry and sandy through the greater part of the year.

“The survey amin therefore measured it as a separate chak and, as none claimed it, noted it as Government property. But as I have said, at the time of the survey, the zamindar who alone had the proprietary right to the river was not consulted. The entry was made without the knowledge or consent of the zamindar or his agent.

“The entry must evidently have been made on a mistaken notion, for in the Revenue Survey map which was soon after prepared the river was not shown as a separate chak, but included in the limits of the mauza and the area of the mauza was calculated by taking the area of the rivers into account. The thak map is then no evidence of the right of defendant to the river under the circumstances, and I hold that the plaintiff is the proprietor of the bed of the river and the Government is not the proprietor.”

Whether the learned Sub-Judge is correct in his conclusion or not it can hardly be supposed that Government would succeed in a claim to the property in the beds of the rivers on the strength of the entry in the thak map alone.

I have myself failed to find any good reason for these entries in the thak statement which were not, I believe, sanctioned by the order of any superior authority.

As a result of this entry in the thak, these rivers were entered in two registers prepared in the Collectorate shortly after the completion of the thakbust survey and purporting to give a complete list of Government property in the district.

5. No action was taken by Government for many years; and it was not till the year 1899 that a settlement of any char on these rivers was made.

Up to the present time there have been settled three chars on the Bodi river, four on the Darakeswar and one on the Gondheswari, while a number of fisheries occurring in all four rivers have been settled.

6. It may be noted that the Khatnagar char in the Darakeswar river was the subject of Title Suit No. 216 of 1911, while of the two suits at present pending before the Sub-Judge of Bankura T. S. No. 114 of 1914 relates to the Char Behar on the Darakeswar and T. S. No. 225 of 1916 relates to the Char Bhatpara on the Bodai.

No claim appears to have been made by the Maharaja of Burdwan with regard to the remaining chars, i.e., two on the Darakeswar, two on the Bodai and one on the Gondheswari.

Of these chars three have been settled for more than twelve years, Char Suklai and Abantica on the Darakeswar and Char Kadaghat on the Bodai. In respect of these chars therefore it may be supposed that any claim of the Maharaja would be barred by limitation. The first settlement of all the fisheries was made within the last twelve years.

7. The method of settlement of these chars has differed to some extent. In some cases settlement has been offered to the proprietors of the adjoining estates, but in no case has he accepted settlement, and all the settlements have been made with outsiders.

In one case, the settlement of Abantica Char, malikana was offered to the proprietors, apparently under a mistaken conception that the proprietor was entitled to malikana even though the char was settled as Government property. The offer of malikana was accepted by the proprietor but has apparently never been paid. For practical purposes newly-formed chars have always been treated as the khas property of Government.

8. From the first the Maharaja of Burdwan appears to have objected to the treatment by Government of these chars as its khas property with the result that the suits above mentioned have been filed. The question of

compromise is, I understand, now under consideration. I have already stated that in my opinion the claim of Government, if based on the thak entry alone, cannot stand the test of the courts. If then Government decide to give up their claim, will the claim also be given up to treat as Government estates those three chars which the Maharaja of Burdwan is apparently barred by limitation from claiming now, and those to which the Maharaja has hitherto laid no claim?

9. It may be pointed out that whether Government gives up its claim to the khas possession of the char or not, it at all events retains its right to assess all new formations to revenue. As such lands are usually assessed to revenue at 70 per cent. of their assets, the difference from the point of view of Government revenue will not be great.

10. With regard to the fisheries, the Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917, Part III, Chapter III, page 120, lays down how settlements are to be made and states that among the assets are to be included "Miscellaneous items of income (*sair*), such as *jalkar*, *falkar*, *hat* dues and the like."

Apparently then the income derived from the fisheries can be included among the assets at the time of settlement, if a certain length of the river be taken as unit of settlement. Though there is no express statement to this effect in the Dowl executed in respect of the Bishnupur zamindari at the time of the Decennial Settlement, it may well be claimed on behalf of the Maharaja that the income from fisheries formed part of the assets on which the original assessment of the zamindari was made.

11. As the present settlement expires in each case at the end of the current financial year, new settlement will have to be made by me without delay.

I have the honour therefore to request that you will be so good as to procure very early orders on the subject.

No. 111 R.G., dated Chinsura, the 23rd February 1923.

From—K. C. DE, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Commissioner of the Burdwan Division,
To—The Collector of Bankura.

With reference to your letter No. 3499R., dated the 2nd January 1923, requesting me to issue instructions as to how the chars formed in the beds of the non-navigable rivers in your district and fisheries therein should be recorded in the record-of-rights, I have the honour to state that as the chars and fisheries in those rivers form the subject matter of dispute in the suits brought against Government by the Burdwan Raj, the result of the suit must be awaited. Meanwhile if any statement is to be made on behalf of Government as to the title of Government to these chars and fisheries, it should be on the lines on which written statement has been filed on behalf of Government in the suit pending before the Sub-Judge of Bankura.

No. 183 R., dated Bankura, the 12th April 1923.

From—The Collector of Bankura,

To—The Settlement Officer of Bankura.

In continuation of this office Memo. No. 3495 R., dated the 2nd January last, regarding the entry of chars formed in the beds of the non-navigable rivers of this district as also of the fisheries in those rivers in the settlement records, I have the honour to send herewith a copy of the Commissioner's instructions conveyed in his letter No. 111 R. G., dated the 22nd ultimo, and to state that under the circumstances the char lands and fisheries which have been already settled should be recorded as the properties of Government, the names of the lessees and the nature, i.e., period, etc., of the settlement made with them should be recorded as contended by Government in the suits brought by the Burdwan Raj before the Sub-Judge of Bankura.

2. A copy of the written statement filed on behalf of Government in the above suit together with a copy of the opinion of the Government Pleader are enclosed herewith for information.

No. XIV/14-4945, dated Calcutta, the 16th August 1923.

From—The Director of Land Records, Bengal,

To—The Assistant Settlement Officer in charge, Bankura.

With reference to your letter No. 140, dated the 9th May 1923, on the subject of the Bankura chars in the Darakeswar and other rivers, I have the honour to say that in consultation with the Legal Remembrancer and the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, it has been decided that Government should give up all claims to khas possession in those chars but insist upon assessment to revenue of the formations. In view of this decision all these areas should be treated as accretions to permanently-settled areas to be held by the proprietors of the latter as temporarily-settled estates on payment of revenue to be assessed as usual. This decision will govern also the cases which were previously settled.

No. 2880, dated Calcutta, the 17th August 1923.

From—The Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, Bengal,

To—The Collector of Bankura.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1473 R. of August 1923 in which you ask for further therein as to my suggestion for giving up Government's claims to the Bankura chars in favour of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan.

In reply, I would say that by Bankura chars, the chars on the Darakeswar and Bodi rivers were meant. These are the only chars in issue in the suits filed by the Maharajadhiraj. It was of course proposed to give up the claims of Government to khas possession in these chars and not the right to assess them to revenue which is an understood right and can hardly be disputed by the

Maharajadhiraj in view of the interpretation of the law as given in the Privy Council judgment in the Damodar Char appeals. The claim of the Maharajadhiraj to hold these chars free of assessment only as part of his permanently-settled estate must therefore be resisted.

No. 784, dated Bankura, the 8th December 1923.

From—A. K. GUHA, Esq., Assistant Settlement Officer in charge, Bankura,

To—The Chief Manager, Burdwan Raj, Burdwan.

I have been instructed to address you on the subject of the Diara Resumption Proceedings on the alluvial accretions in the rivers Darakeswar, Bodai and Damodar so far as they appertain to the district of Bankura and to state that under section 4 of Regulation II of 1825 those lands whenever they have been found to have accreted to the permanently-settled estates of the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan on the banks of these rivers have been treated as increments to these estates, i.e., the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan has been treated as the proprietor of these estates subject to the payment to Government of additional revenue under Regulation II of 1819 read with section 6 of Act IX of 1847. After the disposal of the Privy Council case in connection with the last Damodar Diara it is hoped that the legal position with respect to the beds of the above rivers of the district of Bankura is clear so far as the respective rights of the Government and the proprietors of the estates on the banks are concerned. If, however, you differ from the above view and maintain that the beds of the above rivers appertain to the permanently-settled estates of the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur on their banks I have been instructed to point out to you that there is no legal difficulty to your taking settlement of the diara areas which are accretions to your estates subject to objection and without prejudice to right of assertion of all connected rights in the Court later, if so advised.

No. M. 22—729, dated Burdwan the 22nd December 1923.

From—P. CHATTERJEE, Esq., Manager, Burdwan Raj,

To—The Assistant Settlement Officer in Charge, Bankura Settlement, Bankura.

With reference to your letter No. 784, dated 8th December 1923, regarding settlement of char lands in the rivers Darakeswar, etc., in the district of Bankura, I have the honour to state that after carefully going through the legal aspects of the case referred to in your letter under reply, I am of opinion that the provisions of Regulation IX of 1825 do not apply to the present case, as accretions are contemplated there only in the case in which accretions are formed from public domain, but in the present case there is no such thing as public domain, in as much as the beds of the rivers in question belong to the Burdwan Raj and not to the Government, and the Privy Council decision lays down that

no assessment of revenue could be made on those beds as they were under water at the time of the permanent settlement and therefore the chars formed on the river beds are subject to assessment of revenue only.

In this view of the case under notice I am unable to accept settlement of the chars in question for some time to come.

2.

No. 349, dated Bankura, the 6th July 1922.
From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S.,
Settlement Officer of Bankura,
To—The Collector of Bankura.

I have the honour to address you on the subject of the road-side lands of the Raniganj-Midnapore road from mile 8 to 9. These lands once formed Touzi No. 1049 and were last settled with an ijaradar Girish Chandra Chatterji for 15 years in 1895. No further information is available from the papers contained in the estate bundle. It appears, however, from a note in the Abatement Return No. 14 of the year 1901 that the estate No. 1049 was removed from the roll under Board's order No. 1519 A. of 4th December 1900 as being Ghatwali. In fact, it has been removed from the roll, the lands are no longer settled.

It appears however that there are no Ghatwali lands in this village and the tenants introduced into the lands by the ijaradar are still in possession without paying rent to any body.

So far as I have been able to gather, there is no information available in the Collectorate to show the reason for the order of the Board, and it would appear that this order was passed on wrong information received.

The record of these lands is now due for final publication and I am proposing to record the tenants occupying the lands as holding under Government and liable to pay revenue.

In the circumstances, I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to address the Board for rescinding the previous order and restoring the Touzi No. 1049 to the roll.

No. 419, dated Bankura, the 27th July 1922.
From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Bankura,
To—The Collector of Bankura.

In continuation of my letter No. 349 of the 6th July 1922 on the subject of the roadside lands of mile 8 of the Raniganj-Midnapore Road which once formed Touzi No. 1049 in the Bankura roll, I have the honour to observe as follows.

2. These lands are the side lands of the road from mile 7 to mile 8 and occur in mouzas Jamkuri and Udhampur, which latter village has been made part of mouza Nandanpur in the present operation.

3. The roadside lands of Touzi No. 1049 were last settled with one Girish Chandra Chatterji for 15 years in 1895.

The estate was removed from the Touzi Roll under Board's Order No. 1519 A. of 4th December 1900.

No information as to the reason for this order is available as Return No. 14 for this year has long been destroyed as a "B" paper. There is, however, a note on the flyleaf to the effect that the estate was removed as Ghatwali.

Now of the two villages in which the lands of this estate contained, Jamkuri is a Ghatwali village, but Udhampur contained no Ghatwali lands.

4. Now according to the provision of section 9, Act XLII of 1850, all lands taken up for the purpose of roads for which no claim was made within five years of their construction vested in Government.

The lands of the Midnapore-Raniganj Road are therefore Government lands, whether the remaining lands of any village through which the road runs belong to Ghatwals or any other class of tenants.

5. At the time of the Ghatwali resumption proceedings when the Ghatwali lands were resumed and formed into separate estates, the Settlement Officer, Babu Jnan Sankar Sen, with what object it is difficult to guess included in the Ghatwali estates those roads which ran through the Ghatwali lands, although by provision of section 9, Act XLII of 1850, they vested in Government.

Now some of the Ghatwali estates were settled while Babu Jnan Sankar Sen was still Settlement Officer, some were settled long after his appointment had been abolished and in some cases owing to the recusance of landlord and tenant, Ghatwali lands were not resumed at all.

In all cases however a map of the lands had been prepared and an assessment had been made.

Jamkuri consists entirely of Ghatwali lands, but no resumption has ever taken place and the lands of the village are still held by the Ghatwals who pay panchak to the proprietor of the estate in which the village is contained.

Now, as according to the proposal of Babu Jnan Sankar Sen all roads were to be included in the new estate through whose lands they passed, it may be surmised that steps were taken even before the completion of the resumption proceedings, to remove from the revenue roll estates containing lands which were hereafter to be included in the newly formed Ghatwali estates.

If I am correct in my surmise therefore, estate No. 1049 has been removed from the Touzi roll owing to a mistake. The Ghatwali lands of Jamkuri have not yet been resumed, and when they are resumed under my supervision the road and the roadside lands will not be included in the estate to be formed.

The other village through which the 8th mile of the road runs, Udhampur, contains no Ghatwali lands.

6. All that has happened as the result of the removal of this estate from the Touzi Roll is that the tenants who were introduced into the lands by the ijaradar in 1895 are still in possession and are paying rents to nobody, nor are these lands included as forming part of any estate in the Collector's general register.

7. I have recorded these lands as appertaining to Touzi No. 1049 in my record of both villages as they clearly belong to no other estate.

I have the honour now to request that you will be so good as to move the Board of Revenue to rescind the previous order and to restore the estate to the roll.

No. 227 T. & A. T., dated Calcutta, the 8th May 1923.

From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Bengal,
To—The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

With reference to your letter No. 202 R.G., dated the 18th March 1923, on the subject of the assessment to revenue of the side lands in the 8th mile of the Raniganj-Midnapore Road and the restoration of the estate Touzi No. 1049 to the roll, I am directed to convey the following observations and orders of the Board.

2. It appears that Raniganj-Midnapore Road was constructed in the early part of the nineteenth century by means of convict labour under the direction of the Collectors of the districts through which it passed.

3. Portions of this road were subsequently acquired either in order to change the alignment or for other reasons, but no portion of the land on which the 8th mile of the road was constructed was ever acquired. Under the provisions of section 9 of Act XLII of 1850 such land as was used for the purpose of the road at that time became the property of Government.

4. In the years 1862 and 1866 respectively the thak and revenue survey of the district were prepared. According to the maps prepared in the surveys of the villages Jamkuri and Udharpore, through which 8th mile of the road passes, the width of the road at this part was about 60 feet.

5. In the year 1885 the Sub-Deputy Collector, Babu Srinath Sen, was deputed to make a survey of the whole road. He reported that originally the width of the road was 120 feet but that much of the side lands of the road had been encroached upon with the result that from the 7th mile of the road up to the town of Bankura no roadside lands existed.

It appears from the maps prepared by the Sub-Deputy Collector that the width of the road at the 8th mile was 60 feet, that is, the width as that shewn in the thak and revenue survey maps.

6. On the basis of the map and the report of Babu Srinath Sen the side lands of the road were formed mile by mile into separate estates and leased out to the farmers. The roadside lands of the 8th mile were leased out to an ijaradar in the year 1895 and the lands were formed into an estate bearing Touzi No. 1049.

7. In the year 1900 the Collector, in submitting his return No. IX to the Board, proposed the removal of Touzi No. 1049 from the roll on the ground that the lands of the estate had been found to be Ghatwali according to the Thak and Ghatwali maps that they were in the possession of the Ghatwals and had been

resumed and settled as such by the Ghatwali Settlement Officer.

Sanction was accordingly given by the Board to the removal of Touzi No. 1049 from the roll.

8. The Collector's report appears to have been incorrect in the following particulars:—

(a) The Thak map and statement give no information of any kind. There are no chaks in the map which merely shows the village boundary and the road running through the village. The statement gives the boundaries and the names of the proprietors and tenure-holders possessing lands in the village, but does not even describe the village as Ghatwali.

(b) It may be concluded that the Ghatwals were not in possession of the side lands from the fact that the tenants in occupation of the lands have paid no rent since 1900, the date on which Government abandoned its claim.

Had the Ghatwals been in possession they would certainly have collected rents from the cultivators in occupation.

(c) The lands were never resumed and settled with the Ghatwals. Resumption proceedings were started but were subsequently abandoned.

9. For the abandonment of the lands of the estate which were situated in Mouza Udharpore no reasons were given at all and it may be surmised that they were given up through mistake.

10. The Board is therefore of opinion that it may confidently be assumed that the width of the road throughout the 8th mile in the year 1850 was not less than 60 feet and that so much land came into possession of Government at this time.

There is moreover no evidence to show that Government was ever dispossessed up to the year 1900.

11. The Board accordingly, agreeing with your views, directs the assessment to revenue of the side lands in the 8th mile of the Midnapore-Raniganj Road up to a total width of 60 feet as shown in the recent settlement maps and the restoration of estate Touzi No. 1049 to the roll.

The restoration of Touzi No. 1049 and the revenue assessed may be shown in the next kistwar return No. X. In this connection it should be noted that only those lands in the possession of the raiyats who have acquired the right of occupancy should be assessed to revenue, from other lands the occupants should be ejected or they should remain fallow in accordance with the general orders of Government.

No. 18 R. G., dated Chinsura, the 15th May 1923.

Memo. by the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

Copy forwarded to the Collector of Bankura with reference to the correspondence resting with this office No. 116 R. G., dated the 18th March 1923.

His attention is invited to paragraph 10 of the Board's order and it is requested that the restoration of Touzi No. 1049 should be shown in the next kistwar return No. X.

No. 782 R., dated Bankura, the 4th June 1923.

Memo. by the Collector of Bankura.

Copy forwarded to the Assistant Settlement Officer in charge, Bankura, for his information with reference to his letter No. 1006, dated the 6th May 1923, and with a request to send assessment papers, maps, etc., in this connection at an early date.

3.

No. 185, dated Bankura, the 20th May 1922.
From—F. W. ROBERTSON, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Bankura,
To—The Collector of Bankura.

I have the honour to address you on the subject of certain properties held at present under khas management as khas mahal and bearing No. 455 in the Revenue Roll of the district.

The properties originally formed five separate estates, viz.—

	Touzi No.	Bought by Government in—
(1) Prakash ..	292	1901 at a sale for arrear of revenue.
(2) Pitaipur ..	297	1886 ..
(3) Kharbani	455	1905 ..
(4) Rajasbari	584	1889 ..
(5) Abantica Char ..	1126	..

The first four were resumed as being illegally held free of revenue and were permanently settled with the persons in possession. At various dates as noted above, they were bought in by Government at sales for arrears of revenue and have since then been managed khas.

The Abantica Char is a char which formed on the old bed of the river Darakeswar in the year 1901. It was taken possession on behalf of Government by the Collector, who in the subsequent proceedings appears to have confused the law relating to the lands forming in rivers, the bed of which is the property of Government, and that relating to lands forming in rivers the bed of which is the property of the zamindar.

Having taken possession of the char, the Collector offered settlement to the Maharaja of Burdwan. The Maharaja refused to take settlement but asked the Collector to relinquish the char on the ground that the property in it belonged to him.

The Collector replied that the char belonged to Government on the ground that the bed of the Darakeswar River as shown in the Thakbust Survey map belonged to Government (Sarkar Bahadur). He, however, stated that in his opinion the Maharaja was

entitled to malikana in accordance with the provisions of sections 4, Regulation VII of 1822. The Maharaja accepted the offer of malikana which was paid to him.

In the year 1909 the Commissioner raised the question whether these five estates could not conveniently be grouped together to form one estate and in accordance with the Board's order they were so grouped from the year 1910-11 and have formed a single estate ever since.

Now if Government continues to claim the bed of the Darakeswar River as its khas property, there is no reason why the five estates should not remain grouped together as one estate, but in that case the Maharaja of Burdwan is, of course, not entitled to malikana.

If on the other hand, as I have proposed, Government decides to give up the claim to the khas property in the bed of the Darakeswar River the Abantica Char will stand on a different footing from the other estates, and the Maharaja of Burdwan will be entitled to be offered settlement of it on expiry of the present settlement and in the event of refusal to take settlement, will be entitled to malikana. In either case it will be necessary to separate the Abantica Char from the other four estates and to form it into a separate temporarily-settled estate.

As the matter is of importance both from the point of view of preparing my record as also from the point of view of the settlement of the various chars in the rivers, I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to get early orders both on the question of Government's claim to the khas possession in general and to the question of the Abantica Char in particular.

No. 5349 G. E., dated Calcutta, the 8th August 1922.

From—A. K. JAMESON, Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Bengal,
To—The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

With reference to your letter No. 67 R. G., dated the 17th July 1922, I am directed to say that in the circumstances stated, the Board accords its approval to the separation of the estate Abantica Char No. 1126 from the other four estates of the group bearing Touzi No. 455 on the revenue roll of the district of Bankura and also to its formation into a separate estate.

No. 2045 R., dated Bankura, the 23rd August 1922.

Memo. by the Collector of Bankura.

Copy, with the copy of the Settlement Officer's letter No. 185, dated the 20th May 1922, forwarded to the Subdivisional Officer of Vishnupur for information. He is requested to intimate to this office the present annual rent of the estate Abantica Char and to show the same as the rent of the new estate Abantica Char bearing No. 1126, i.e., the old number. On receipt of this reply necessary intimation will be sent to the Touzi Department for retaining the old number.

No: 135R.G., dated Chinsura, the 21st January 1920.

From—J. N. GUPTA, Esq., M.B.E., I.C.S.,
Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

To—The Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Bengal, Revenue Department.

I have the honour to submit herewith copies of the following correspondence on the subject of the resumption and settlement of the unresumed Ghatwali land in the district of Bankura, and to request you to be so good as to obtain the sanction of the Board and Government to the procedure proposed to be adopted during the present resumption proceedings:—

- (1) Letter No. 964R., dated 24th June 1919, from the Collector of Bankura.
- (2) Letter No. XLIV 7-5513, dated 2nd August 1919, from the Director of Land Records.
- (3) Letter No. 2439R., dated 1st October 1919, from the Collector of Bankura, with enclosures.

2. In the year 1894 Government accepted the proposal made by Mr. R. C. Dutta, the then Commissioner of the Division, for the abolition of the Ghatwali service in Bankura and the settlement of the Ghatwali lands with the zamindars. The Government orders regarding the settlement of these lands were that ghatwals were to be recognised as permanent tenure-holders with rents fixed in perpetuity at 75 per cent. of the assets and the lands were to be permanently settled with the zamindars at half the rent assessed. The Ghatwali lands were surveyed and were mostly settled with zamindars. In some cases, however, difficulties arose about settlement. In pargana Mahisara belonging to the Pachet Raj, objection was taken on behalf of the zamindar that the rents assessed were far too low, while in the Baisgram tract of Gangajalghaty appertaining to the Burdwan Raj ghatwals objected to the rents assessed as being too high. Some of the smaller zamindars took no interest in the matter. The survey and settlement work was also badly done.

The Board of Revenue therefore decided that the survey and settlement of the Ghatwali tenures must be postponed till the district operations were undertaken.

3. The area of Ghatwali lands which has not been settled with the zamindars is 64,366 bighas held by 334 sadar ghatwals, Sadials and other ghatwals in 151 villages. The largest area appertains to the Pachet Raj. Some of the tenures are very large, e.g., Bhagra etc., in thana Mejhia with an area of 10,842 bighas and Dhoka, etc., in thana Saltorah with an area of 6,469 bighas.

4. In accordance with the Board's order referred to above my predecessor, Mr. Lees, decided that the resumption settlement of the unresumed Ghatwali lands should be taken up by the District Settlement Officer simultaneously with the preparation of record-of-rights and asked the Collector in August 1918 to obtain the consent of the

zamindars and ghatwals concerned to the settlement of the lands on the conditions sanctioned by Government. The Collector accordingly addressed the zamindars and personally ascertained the views of the ghatwals. All the principal zamindars and ghatwals agreed to take the settlement on terms proposed, and the Collector in December 1918 made over the papers to the Settlement Officer with the request to take up the work. It appears from the Settlement Officer's No. 127, dated the 4th May 1919, to the address of the Collector of Bankura that the proceedings are almost complete and the agreement will be finally signed if the procedure adopted by the Settlement Officer meets with the approval of the Board.

5. Mr. Robertson's note enclosed with the Collector's letter No. 964R., dated the 24th June 1919, will show the method he proposes to adopt in calculating the assets of a ghat. It appears that he proposes to fix 70 per cent. of the assets as the fair rent of each ghatwal in accordance with what appeared to be the present practice of determining the fair rent payable by a tenure-holder in temporarily-settled estates. The Collector, however, observes that it appears from the final report of the resumption proceedings conducted by Babu Jnan Sankar Sen in 1894-1900 and from settlement chittas in fixing the rent payable by a ghatwal he made a deduction of only 25 per cent. on the rents payable by the subtenants under the Ghatwali and no such deduction was made in respect of the ghatwal's khas lands. Thus apparently the present Settlement Officer is granting a higher rate of allowance in fixing the fair rent of a ghatwal. But it may be noted that the rent of the ghatwal's khas land was arrived at during the last settlement proceedings by an amicable settlement between the zamindar and the ghatwal, while the present Settlement Officer is calculating the assets according to accepted methods. I therefore agree with the Collector that a deduction of 30 per cent. on the gross assets as collection charges and normal profits may, as proposed by the Settlement Officer, be made in fixing fair rent of a ghatwal, and he may be allowed a further deduction of 25 per cent. in consideration of his long possession and peculiar status, as approved in Government order No. 3897, dated 21st December 1898, to the address of the Board. As regards the observations of the Director of Land Records, to whom I sent the Collector's proposal for an expression of opinion that it is doubtful if these terms are not too generous considering that the rent of the ghatwal will remain fixed for ever, I think that it is too late to raise the question now. Settlement has been made and is proposed to be made on an amicable basis and the landlords and ghatwals are already aware, as observed by the Director, that these terms are the basis of the proposed compromise and that the greater proportion of the ghats have already been settled on similar, if not on more favourable terms.

6. According to the terms settled during the last resumption proceedings the net assets of the ghat thus ascertained will be divided equally between the zamindars and Government, the present quit rent will be abolished

and the zamindar will be entitled to an equivalent abatement of land revenue in respect of the parent estate. Apparently the procedure followed during the last settlement in giving effect to these terms did not secure to Government the full half of the fair rent of a ghat *minus* the allowance of 25 per cent. granted to ghatwal, inasmuch as Government had to allow the zamindar an abatement equal to the quit rent hitherto paid by the ghatwal to the zamindar, from the revenue of the parent estate, the abatement of revenue so granted having practically been a deduction from the Government's share of the assets of that ghat. The concession was, however, granted at previous resumptions and it is expected by the zamindars. I therefore agree with the Collector that the arrangement need not be disturbed now as it will complicate matters.

7. An abatement of revenue equal to the quit rent should be granted from the parent estate, and Ghatwali lands separated from it should be numbered, as on the previous occasion, as a separate estate on the Touzi Roll of the district.

8. As regards the position of the patnidars, I would refer you to Board's letter No. 785A., dated 4th August 1899, from which it would appear that the Legal Remembrancer whom the Board consulted at the time was of opinion that the patnidars would not be entitled to any share in the increased profits derived by the zamindars from a contract made subsequent to the grant of the patni without reducing the patnidar's profits. The Legal Remembrancer however added that on the release of the ghatwal from Police Service his liability to the patnidar for the quit rent would still continue as long as the patnidar did not accept an abatement of rent from the zamindar. The Director of Land Records, the Collector of Bankura and the local Government Pleader are however of opinion that in the proposed settlement the patnidar cannot be ignored. The question does not appear to be very important as the number of patnidars having interest in the ghats now under settlement is very few, and it is expected that some amicable arrangement between the zamindars and patnidars may be arrived at. I therefore think the instructions given in the concluding portion of the Board's letter quoted above may be followed and the patnidars may be left either to arrange with the zamindars amicably or to go to the Civil Court.

9. I agree with the Director of Land Records and the Collector of Bankura that the clause in the kabulyat relating to the mining rights may be left out, but it has not been reported by the Collector if the zamindars concerned will agree to this. The draft patta and kabulyat enclosed with the Collector's letter may be approved.

No. 2758 L. R., dated Calcutta, the 11th April 1921.

From—S. W. HOPKINS, Esq., O.B.E., I.C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department,

To—The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to refer to the correspondence ending with your memorandum No. 138 R. G., dated the 2nd October 1920, to the address of the Board of Revenue and its enclosures regarding the resumption and settlement of the unresumed zamindari Panchaki Ghatwali land in the district of Bankura.

It is reported that almost all Ghatwali lands excepting an area of 64,366 bighas were resumed and settled on terms previously approved of by Government and that the question of resumption and settlement of the above area was kept in abeyance to be dealt with simultaneously with the preparation of record-of-rights at the time of the district settlement operation. The Settlement Officer has now conducted the resumption proceedings and observed mainly the procedure adopted on the last occasion. The forms of patta and kabulyats now submitted for the approval of Government are practically identical with those sanctioned by Government on the previous occasion except

- (i) that the clause relating to mining rights has been omitted from both the forms, and
- (ii) that the provision relating to the payment of quit rent and the clause approved in Government order No. 1360 T. R., dated the 28th August 1900, about the Ghatwali rights of transferability have been omitted from the present form of kabulyat.

The following deviations have also been made by the Settlement Officer in the matter of assessment:—

- (a) fair rents have been calculated on the actual facts determined under the Bengal Tenancy Act, instead of being amicably settled between the zamindar and the ghatwal.
- (b) It is proposed to allow 30 per cent. of the gross assets to the ghatwal as collection charges and normal profits as against 25 per cent. at the last settlement proceedings;
- (c) and deduction on account of costs of collection and profits has been allowed on all the assets (khas as well as rented) of the ghatwal instead of allowing it on his rented lands only.

The zamindars and Ghatwals have accepted the terms and consented to the proposed forms of patta and kabulyat, except that a few of the zamindars urge that the clause about mining rights should be inserted. You in consultation with the Collector of Bankura support this proposal.

3. In reply I am to say that in the circumstances explained the Governor in Council approves of the method of assessment adopted by the Settlement Officer. He also accepts the forms of patta and kabulyat submitted with your letter No. 135 R. G., dated the 21st January 1920, but the clause to be inserted about mining rights should be the same as in the form of kabulyat approved by Government in their letter No. 2877 of the 22nd August 1899, which contains the clause "but will have no claim to the underground rights, and should any mines or minerals be found in the land, they shall belong to you". It is understood that the form of indenture between Government and the zamindars approved in Government order No. 2877, dated 22nd August 1899, will also be used on the present occasion.

No. 3 R. G., dated Chinsurah, the 16th April 1921.

Memo. by the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

Copy, with a copy of this office letter No. 135R.G., dated the 1st January 1920, forwarded to the Collector of Bankura with reference to the correspondence ending with his letter No. 2206R., dated the 24th September 1920, for information and for favour of communication to the Settlement Officer.

APPENDIX XVIII.

Local measure.

Throughout the district measurement by standard bigha prevails. Hence no statements of local measures were prepared for any area in the district.

A. K. GUHA.

10th November 1925.

No. $\frac{XXV}{4}$ 753, dated Alipore, the 17th November, 1926.

From—A. K. JAMESON, Esq., I.C.S., Director of Land Records,
Bengal.

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue
Department.

I have the honour to submit herewith the Final Report of the Settlement operations in the district of Bankura which has been written by Mr. F. W. Robertson, I.C.S., who was Settlement Officer throughout.

2. Bankura is the most westerly district in Bengal and like Midnapur, which adjoins it on the south, it forms a link between the uplands of Chhota Nagpur and the alluvial plains of Bengal proper. The Sadar Subdivision which covers about two-thirds of the total area of the district on the west side is in physical characteristics akin to Chhota Nagpur. It consists mainly of undulating country which in the south-west rises into hills of about 1,000 feet in height; the soil is chiefly red laterite and large tracts are covered with extensive forests of *sal* trees. In the remaining one-third of the district constituting the subdivision of Bishnupur the undulations cease, and though laterite and *sal* jungle are still found in patches, for the most part the soil is alluvial and the country consists of great stretches of open paddy fields. The distinction between the two parts of the district may be observed also in the racial character of the people and in their customs and systems of land tenure. Within comparatively recent historical times the jungle was much more extensive and as in Midnapur the reckless way in which it has been cut down has exposed the shallow soil of the uplands to the unrestricted action of the rain which has washed it away and left large areas of barren ground on which nothing can possibly grow. Even where the jungle has not been completely cleared, the system employed by the landlords of leasing it out in blocks for short periods to lease-holders whose one concern is to make as large an immediate profit as possible without considering its future conservation is rapidly destroying what might be a very valuable asset.

3. The river system is simple. The main rivers run from west to east and are of the nature of hill streams liable to extremely rapid and destructive floods which, confined within rocky beds in the west of the district, break out with devastating effect when they enter the level eastern parts. The principal river, the Damodar, is embanked for sixty miles from its mouth with the result that it is unable to spill its silt and has deteriorated. The rivers supply good drinking water to the villages situated on their banks, but they are of little use for irrigation as they contain almost no water except during the rains and in times of flood.

4. Roads are numerous in the Sadar Subdivision where they are easy to make on the laterite but few and bad in Bishnupur. As the latter is the more populated and more important part of the district and pays the larger share of the road cess, it has been unfairly treated in this matter, but the District Board which is poor and has many new calls on its funds is unable to remedy the injustice.

5. In comparison with other districts in Bengal, Bankura is thinly populated. The average for the district is 385 to the square mile. In Midnapur which is in many respects similar, it is 558, while in Jessore it is 589 and in Dacca 1,082. Naturally the incidence differs in the two subdivisions, Sadar with its large proportion of jungle showing 358 and Bishnupur 457. It is, however, somewhat surprising that the incidence should be so low in Bishnupur which one would expect to approximate more nearly to other districts of similar characteristics in Bengal proper. The reason given by Mr. Robertson is

the prevalence of malaria. The figures of population at successive censuses make depressing reading. They may be summarised as follows :—

		Difference between 1881 and 1911.	Difference between 1911 and 1921.	Difference between 1881 and 1921.
Sadar Subdivision	..	+ 15·4	— 7	+ 7·3
Bishnupur Subdivision	..	— 1	— 17	— 18
District	..	+ 9	— 10	— 2

A large part of the decrease between 1911 and 1921 may be attributed to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 which caused unprecedented loss of life, but it is apparent that other causes also must have been at work in Bishnupur Subdivision as the decrease has been steady since 1881, and it is probable that malaria is the principal one. Its ravages are certainly increased by the extremely insanitary condition of the villages and the customs of the people which appear to be even more unhygienic than in other parts of Bengal.

6. The people are predominantly dependent on the land, 79 per cent. of them being connected with it in one way or another. Of these 4 per cent. are rent collectors, 67 per cent. cultivate their own land and 27 per cent. are labourers. The proportion of middlemen is not so high as in some other districts, but the prosperity of the country would probably increase if the proportion were diminished. The percentage classed as labourers is unusually high; the figures are those of the census of 1921 and it is possible that persons who pay a share of the produce of land have been included among the labourers though in settlement we should class them as agriculturists. But even allowing for this, the proportion of persons who have no land of their own is much greater in Bankura than in any other district of Bengal. Of other industries the only one that is of any importance commercially is weaving which formerly flourished in the district and after a steady decline received an impetus at the time of the famine in 1916 which is still maintained.

7. Ethnologically Bankura is, like Midnapur, one of the most interesting districts in the Province as it still retains several varieties of aboriginal races and many low castes possibly the results of various admixtures of races, as well as the pure Bengali. Of them all the Santals, who though not the earliest aboriginal inhabitants were responsible for most of the reclamations and are the most numerous of those that are left, are the most interesting as they have retained many of their old beliefs and customs, both religious and social. An account of the origin of the Mandali system which is characteristic of the Santals will be found in the final report of the Midnapur settlement; it has suffered the same melancholy fate in Bankura as there. The Santal has, every where, been forced to give way to the more intelligent and unscrupulous Bengali; his headmen have lost the position they used to hold on the land and the bulk of the race, deprived of all but the worst of their lands, exist practically as serfs under their Bengali masters. It cannot be said that the treatment of this valuable element in the population forms a record of which Government has any reason to be proud. As far back as 1872 it was recognized that measures ought to be taken for their protection, but it was not until 1909 that Mr. McAlpin was put on special duty to enquire into their condition and to suggest measures for its amelioration. Of the proposals contained in his valuable report effect has been given to only one, that regulating the transfer of land of Santals and other tribes, and the effect of the legislation which was added to the Tenancy Act in 1918 has been merely to make it more expensive for them to obtain the loans without which they cannot tide over the bad years which so frequently occur in Bankura, because they cannot offer their land as security. An essential corollary to that legislation was the establishment of co-operative grain golas to prevent the Santal having recourse to the mahajan and nothing has yet been done to establish these. Nor have officers with a special knowledge of the Santals

and their language been posted to administer the areas in which they are numerous. Their hopes had been raised high by the enquiry and they confidently expected that the settlement proceedings would result in the restoration to them of the land which had been so unfairly filched from them, and it is not to be wondered at that their disappointment has induced much restlessness and discontent among them. It is of course impossible to give them back their land, but the other measures proposed by Mr. McAlpin can and should be carried into effect.

8. In Chapter III the employment of the land is considered. The outstanding feature of this is the small proportion of total area which is cultivated, namely, 45 per cent. in the Sadar Subdivision and 52 per cent. in Bishnupur. In Midnapur the percentage in the west of the district which is similar to the Sadar Subdivision of Bankura is the same as in the latter, 45 per cent., but in the alluvial eastern part it rises as high as 78 per cent. Taking the district as a whole, there is no other even in Chhota Nagpur in which the percentage is so low. Of the uncultivated area, 22 per cent. is shown as culturable and 31 per cent. as unculturable, but as Mr. Robertson explains the classification differed somewhat in different parts and some of that shown as culturable should really be classed as unculturable. Even so the area which might yield crops but does not is larger in proportion to the total area than in any other district except Midnapur and Santal Parganas.

9. Bankura again is like Midnapur in the kind of crops it grows. Paddy occupies 90.1 per cent. of the net cropped area against 91.31 per cent. in Midnapur, but in Bankura a very much higher proportion bears the less productive *aus* paddy, namely, 35 per cent. against 13 per cent. and other crops are of little importance and only for local consumption.

10. Chapter IV deals with the economic condition of the people of which a depressing picture is drawn. Practically the entire population is dependent on the land which even in a normal year produces only enough to give 84 per cent. of the population two meals a day, and unfortunately famines are of frequent recurrence. It is no wonder that the cultivator is compelled to borrow to tide over these bad years and once in the clutches of the money-lender there is practically no escape for him; he loses all his best land and exists as a labourer at the mercy of his creditor. The extent to which this has gone is shown by the unusually high percentage of labourers alluded to above and by the fact that after deducting waste and jungle one-third of the remaining area is in the direct possession of proprietors and tenure-holders and two-thirds in possession of raiyats. In no other district is the proportion of the area held by raiyats so small. Mr. Robertson shows that only a little more than half of the amount of paddy necessary to give the entire population two meals a day is grown on raiyats' holdings so that the great majority have to purchase the balance from the small minority of tenure-holders or from outside the district and if they cannot do this, they have to cut down their rations. But the means of earning the money necessary for this purpose are strictly limited. Industry is almost negligible and in practice labour either within or without the district is the only alternative. When this is not sufficient, recourse is had to borrowing and the vicious circle begins which finally reduces the erstwhile cultivator to the position of a serf. It is perhaps permissible to question some of Mr. Robertson's figures as regards outturn of paddy and the amount necessary to keep the people in reasonable comfort; the former may possibly have been under and the latter over-estimated, but the difference in either case cannot be great and after making all possible allowances the position still remains sufficiently serious.

11. As the Settlement Officer points out, the cause of the unsatisfactory condition of the cultivating and labouring classes is the insufficient amount of paddy grown in the district even in a normal year, and the only real remedy is either to provide alternative employment for the agricultural classes or to increase the amount of paddy grown. There seems very little scope for the former method and efforts should be concentrated on the latter. Undoubtedly the most promising line of approach is the provision of irrigation which would not only lessen the danger of failure of crops

in the area at present under cultivation but would also bring under cultivation considerable areas now lying waste. Mr. Robertson gives some account of the efforts which have been, from time to time, made in this direction; they have been very spasmodic and ineffective, and it is apparent that much more systematic plans are required not only for construction of works but also for their proper maintenance when constructed. He attributes their failure largely to the lack of even the most elementary ideas of public spirit or co-operation, but he is hopeful that the recent propaganda in favour of co-operative Irrigation Societies may have good results. A beginning has at any rate been made in the formation of 67 such societies up to the end of 1923 and if only the initial enthusiasm can be maintained and the failure of individual societies avoided which might bring discouragement on the movement as a whole, there is a fair prospect of better conditions in future. And in addition to irrigation there are great possibilities of improvement in the yield of crops by the adoption of better varieties of seed and more scientific methods of cultivation; provided the Agricultural Department can conduct its demonstrations in numerous widely spread centres so as to bring them home to the people who will not trouble themselves to go any distance to find out what is happening at some remote experimental farm.

12. The fiscal history of Bankura which is dealt with in Chapter V begins in 1760 when the area now included within the district was handed over to the British as part of Burdwan and Midnapur. Before that it had enjoyed practical independence though subject to a nominal tribute to the Mogul Rulers, and if Governor Holwell is to be believed it preserved many of the characteristics of the golden Age; but others hardly corroborate him. With the advent of the Permanent Settlement however the fortunes of the Bishnupur Raj which covered a large part of the district declined and ultimately sank into ruin. There is no doubt that the assessment fixed at the Decennial Settlement was far greater than the estate could possibly pay at the moment. It was based partly on an estimate of the amount that might be realised if all lands alienated were resumed, and yet the proprietor was held strictly to account for the total sum before the resumptions could possibly be effected. By 1806 the inevitable result had come about; the estate was split up into ten separate estates and passed completely out of the hands of the family that had held it for over a thousand years who existed thenceforward on pensions amounting to less than Rs. 1,000 per month granted out of charity.

13. In the Jungle Mahals portion of the district the assessment was indeed light and with reasonably efficient administration could easily have been paid. But this was not forthcoming and as soon as this territory, which was for long under special regulations, came under the operation of the ordinary revenue laws the estates at once passed to purchasers.

14. Since the Permanent Settlement there have been considerable additions to the revenue from resumption of lands held without payment of revenue on an invalid title and those held on consideration of certain police duties which have been abolished. Mr. Robertson gives a detailed and interesting account of these resumptions which have been going on at intervals till the present day. It is interesting to note that in 1840 the rates adopted for assessment of the resumed lands were those which had been fixed in 1792 by the then Collector, Mr. Keating, namely, Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per bigha for ordinary paddy land and Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 for twice cropped land, and that these still subsist.

15. Land tenure is dealt with in Chapter VI and here the difference between the jungly west and the more settled east is manifest. In the west the Mandali system which has been referred to above was prevalent until recently when it broke up under the influx of Bengali mahajans. There still subsist, however, the Panchaki tenures found also in Midnapur which probably originated in the desire of the jungle chiefs to secure the services of Brahmins, and the Babuan grants necessitated by the law of primogeniture which regulates succession to estates in the jungle area in

order to provide a subsistence for the younger sons of proprietors. Outside the jungle area tenures are similar to those in the rest of Bengal. There are, however, two forms of raiyati tenancy which are the direct result of the poverty of the soil in large parts of Bankura. These are *langalchas* which is an assessment on the number of ploughs possessed by the raiyat on payment of which he is allowed to cultivate as much land as he can manage, and *jalsasan* which is assessment at much below the ordinary rates of land which can be cultivated only by means of artificial irrigation on condition of the tenant bearing all the cost of irrigation. In the jungle area there are still tenancies, mostly homesteads, held on condition of providing so many days free labour. Rent-free tenures are extremely numerous in Bishnupur and in the Chhatna zamindari in consequence of the piety of former proprietors in making gifts to Brahmins. The legal distinction between raiyat and under-raiyat is little understood and tenants are locally considered to fall into two classes, those who have permanent rights and those who are tenants-at-will. The same fact was noted in the recent final report of Jessore, where even the third and fourth grades of under-raiyats were often considered to have permanent rights. In Bankura subinfeudation has not gone so far, and the number of under-raiyats is small. As in Jessore those of the former class were recorded in the present operations as having occupancy rights whatever their exact position in the scale laid down by the Bengal Tenancy Act.

16. The number of estates formed out of those which were assessed at the Permanent Settlement is only 26, but there are 1,422 which have been created as the result of subsequent resumptions. Most of these are small: there are 36 which pay a revenue of less than Re. 1 and 80 of the total number pay between Re. 1 and Rs. 100.

17. The most surprising feature about the statistics of tenancy in Bankura is the unusually large proportion of land in the direct possession of proprietors and tenure-holders, no less than 49·5 per cent., whereas even in Midnapur it is only 30·5 per cent. and that is very much higher than in any other district of Bengal. Of course this is partly due to the large area of jungle, but even allowing for this, the percentage of the total area of the district which is in their hands and is fit for cultivation is 23 per cent. and only 46 per cent. is in the hands of raiyats and under-raiyats. This again is partly due to the fact that many of the proprietors and tenure-holders own very small pieces of land and are practically cultivators, but even so there remains a disquietingly large area in direct possession of persons who are not agriculturists, and the area is steadily increasing by purchase of raiyati holdings in rent sales which are not resettled but cultivated by hired labour of which there is no lack in the district.

18. 46·5 per cent. of the total area of the district is in direct possession of raiyats and of this 10·3 per cent. is held by raiyats at fixed rents. It has been remarked above that rates of rent have hardly varied since before the Permanent Settlement but only those raiyats who were lucky enough to be able to raise the presumption of fixity by production of 20 years' rent receipts could benefit. In practice this meant that those landlords who had defied the law and failed to grant rent receipts got an advantage over those who had obeyed it and could apply for enhancement of rent, whereas the latter were precluded from doing so.

19. The incidence of rent of ordinary settled raiyats is extremely low being only Re. 1-12-7 per acre for the whole district, but it varies considerably between the Sadar Subdivision where it is Re. 1-3-9 and Bishnupur where it is Rs. 3-4-6. In Midnapur west and east the corresponding figures are Re. 1-15-3 and Rs. 4. The rate in Bishnupur is higher than that which prevails in some of the most prosperous districts in East Bengal, such as Dacca, Faridpur and Tippera, but in the Sadar Subdivision it is less than half of that found in any other district.

20. The worst feature of the rent system of Bankura is the prevalence of rent which consists of a fixed quantity of produce per bigha, known as *sanja*. No less than 11 per cent. of the total area in possession

of settled raiyats is held on this system, whereas in Midnapur, the only other district of Bengal in which it is of any importance, the proportion is 4 per cent. *Bhâg* rent, which consists of a proportion of the crop, generally half, accounts for a further 5 per cent. and mixed cash and produce rents for 9 per cent. There is no doubt that these forms of rent are a most unfair burden on the raiyat. *Sanja* is generally equivalent to one-third of the crop in a normal year and it has to be paid in good and bad years alike, while the mixed rent often represent an even higher proportion. It seems that *sanja* and mixed rents at least are recent innovations due to the purchase and resettlement of raiyati holdings originally paying a low money rent by mahajan landlords. Taken in conjunction with the other tendency noted above of such landlords to keep the purchased holdings in their direct possession, it points to a persistent degradation in the position of the cultivating classes which is rapidly reducing them to helpless dependence on a small class of grasping usurers. This state of things is serious, but it is difficult to devise a remedy. It is doubtful whether legislation prohibiting resettlement on produce-rent of a holding formerly on a money-rent or fixing the proportion which the produce-rent may bear to the total yield of the land would be possible or effective. Commutation which is the only alternative provided by the present law is far from satisfactory in any case, and in Bankura the raiyats are too much afraid of their landlords to put it in operation. The only satisfactory solution would appear to lie in the direction of getting the raiyats out of the clutches of the mahajan by means of co-operative societies.

21. The Survey and Settlement of Bankura district was taken up in continuation of that which had just finished in Midnapur. It was undertaken largely with a view to the protection of the aboriginal tribes who were being ousted from their lands. The Subdivision of Asansol in Burdwan district was included in the operations to meet the wishes of the Mining and Geological Institute for accurate 4" maps of the coal area. Traverse started in 1917-18 and the entire area was divided into four blocks. The staff contained a smaller proportion of gazetted officers than had been usual in previous operations, partly from motives of economy and partly in order to retain as many as possible of the kanungos who would otherwise have been discharged owing to the reduction of the provincial programme. I entirely agree with Mr. Robertson that this was a mistaken policy and since then a return has been made to the former proportions. The political difficulty to which Mr. Robertson refers was a very real hindrance throughout the operations in Bankura, but fortunately it has now disappeared to a large extent, and there does not seem to be any pressing necessity for increasing the powers of Settlement Officers in the way suggested in order to overcome the lack of co-operation by the people. Other factors contributed to make the work difficult especially in the first block. Owing to the suspension of settlement operations on account of the war the old trained staff, both of kanungos and of amins, had become dissipated and untrained men had to be recruited in large numbers. Cadastral survey in undulating areas is complicated and difficult as the fields have to be very small in order to retain the water and the divisions between them are exceedingly tortuous. Field work therefore was not finished in the first year until September and in other years until July or August and this imposed an undue strain on all concerned. Particularly in the west of the district the ignorance of the people and the chaotic state of landlords' papers were further hindrances as it was a matter of much time and infinite patience on the part of the Revenue Officers to ascertain the real facts. Apart from general difficulties of this sort which were due to the nature of the country and of the people the work was simple in comparison with that in more highly developed districts. The tenure system is free from complications, status was, as a rule, undisputed, rent disputes and illegal enhancements of rent were few and the bulk of the disputes related to claims to hold land rent-free or at a fixed rent.

22. The estimate on which the proceedings were based was made in 1917 and showed a gross cost of Rs. 28,62,218 and receipts of Rs. 3,60,000. Actual expenditure came to Rs. 28,39,874 and receipts to Rs. 3,68,617. Considering that the pay of the staff and the cost of all materials increased during the pendency of the operations, Mr. Robertson is to be congratulated on the success with which he kept expenditure within the estimate. The rates charged for recovery of that portion of the cost which is debitable to landlords and tenants varied in different blocks from 14 annas to Re. 1-2 per acre of cultivated land and from 5 annas to 7 annas per acre of jungle. Recovery of costs has been exceedingly successful and only about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the recoverable amount has had to be remitted, an extraordinarily low figure for any settlement and more particularly so for so poor a district as Bankura.

23. The work of this settlement was nearly finished when I became the Director of Land Records and I have little personal acquaintance with it. But it is evident that great difficulties were encountered, physical, moral and financial, and the loyal way in which all the staff faced these and co-operated to produce a satisfactory result reflects great credit on them. To Mr. Robertson especially the thanks of Government are due for the efficient manner in which he organised and carried through the work in face often of much difficulty and discouragement, and I join with him in recommending to the notice of Government those of his staff whom he has named as having done exceptionally good work.

FINAL REPORT BANKURA SETTLEMENT.

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No. 221 R.G., dated Chinsura, the 23rd August 1927.

From—The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division,

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

With reference to your letter No. 3108 L.R., dated the 25th February 1927, asking for my remarks and those of the Collector on the various matters dealt with in Mr. Robertson's final report on the survey and settlement operations in the district of Bankura, I have the honour to forward a copy of Mr. Hart's letter No. 1105 R., dated 27th/28th March 1927, together with a copy of his note on the subject. I regret that the matter has been unduly delayed in my office.

The Settlement Officer and the Collector draw attention to the loss of wealth which the reckless cutting away of valuable trees and the denudation of forest lands has caused to the district. This is also largely responsible for the deterioration of the rivers in the district. The subject has already been discussed in the correspondence resting with Mr. Cook's letter No. 19 R.G., dated 23rd January 1926, to your address.

It is reported that of all the lands in the possession of settled raiyats in Bankura, no less than one quarter is held on produced rents or on mixed cash and produce rents, and that the mixed rents are steadily increasing at the expense of the original cash rents. I agree with the Settlement Officer and the Collector that this is a serious menace to the welfare of the actual cultivators of the soil in the district, and I think legislation is necessary to allow more facilities for the commutation of the produce rents than are afforded by section 40 of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

Paragraph 9 of the Collector's Report and paragraph 73 of the Settlement Report.

The Collector suggests that the revenue derived from the settlement of resumed ghatwali lands should be made over to the panchayets or union boards. Though latterly the duties of the Ghatwals differed little from those of ordinary village chaukidars originally, "the duties of a Ghatwal lay mainly in guarding communications and not in the police work of any definite area," as observed by Mr. Robertson. The incidence of a Ghatwali tenure was quite different from that of a chaukidari chakran land, and necessarily resumption and settlement proceedings were conducted on different lines. Even in West Bengal, a large proportion of the village watchmen has always been maintained by the contributions of the villagers, and I do not think any concession of the nature referred to above should be made to the chaukidari unions or union boards in areas where there are Ghatwals.

Paragraph 12 of the Collector's Report and paragraph 39 of the Settlement Report.

If the claim of the panchayets or union boards to the revenue derived from Ghatwali lands is admitted, their claim to the revenue obtained from resumption of other service lands, such as Shimandari, Pharidari, etc., will be difficult to resist.

No. 1105R., dated Bankura, the 27th/28th March 1927.

From—S. G. HART, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Bankura,

To—The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

With reference to your memorandum No. 11 R.G., dated the 8th instant, I have the honour to enclose a Note on Mr. Robertson's Settlement Report. I regret that as the report only reached me shortly before I was leaving the district, my remarks are very inadequate to the importance of the subject. It would have been a great advantage to me if I could have obtained an advance copy of the report soon after I first took charge of the district.

**Note on Mr. Robertson's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations
in the District of Bankura, 1917 to 1924.**

Paragraph 5 of the Report.—The greatest change which has come over this district during the past half century has been the cutting down of the forests. In other districts, deforestation usually connotes increase in cultivation and a general rise in the economic condition of the people. In Bankura no such fortunate results have been obtained. Although everywhere increases in the land under cultivation is apparent, the district is not supporting a larger population. In fact, the population in 1921 was 2 per cent. less than in 1881. It is true that in the Sadar subdivision, where there has been most cutting down of jungles, there was an increase of 7 per cent. in those 40 years; but this is a very small increase for such a long period, and at the same time the population of Vishnupur subdivision decreased by 18 per cent., which is dreadful to contemplate.

2. **Paragraph 8.**—Malaria is rife in the eastern portion of the Vishnupur subdivision, and although the neighbouring parts of Burdwan and Hooghly districts are unhealthy, they do not appear to be suffering from such high mortality. It is difficult to understand why Vishnupur should be more malarious than the areas a little further east, but the cause may be that the houses and homesteads are more secluded from fresh air and sunlight.

3. **Paragraph 6.**—Another serious change that has come over the district during the last half century has been the deterioration of the rivers. The Damodar used to be navigable up to Mejhia, and until the East Indian Railway was opened, coal was carried away from the Raniganj Collieries by boats; but no boats are to be seen now in any part of this district. Even the Darakeswar was navigable up to Bankura for part of the year until about 40 years ago, although from the present condition of the river it is hard to imagine that this can have been so. The deterioration of the rivers has been partly due to the denudation of the forest land, but in the case of the Damodar the navigability of the river has been destroyed by the construction of embankments in Burdwan and other districts lower down.

4. **Paragraph 17.**—In the Sadar subdivision only 45 per cent. of the land is cultivated and in Vishnupur only 52. To anyone coming from Eastern Bengal and making a journey through this district, it is very sad to see the vast areas of land either barren or producing only a miserable kind of jungle. Water! water! is everywhere the demand. If only there were an adequate supply of water, the proportion of unculturable land would be very small. Great good can be done by making the best use of such water as is available, and the benefit derived from the co-operative irrigation societies can hardly be overestimated. The figures given in paragraph 29 of the report do not go beyond the year 1923, but since then the irrigation societies have made considerably further development, the very serious blot on the page being the three works which were made over to the Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, for execution.

5. **Paragraph 19.**—Very little information is given in the report on the subject of crops, and with regard to paddy specially much more might have been said. Far more *aus* paddy is grown than is generally realized, and few people are aware that the area under *aman* paddy is only half as much again as the area under *aus*. The fact is that the kinds of *aus* usually grown in Bankura district are late transplanted varieties. These yield much better crops than the early broadcast kinds, and are almost as profitable as most kinds of *aman*. Then, again, the different varieties of rice vary greatly in quality and productiveness; some are suited only for irrigated land, others are believed to thrive with little or no irrigation, but the report gives no information on this subject. The settlement provided an opportunity of gaining much knowledge which would have afforded the Agricultural Department a good basis for experiments, with a view to introducing or extending improved varieties; but the opportunity seems to have been missed.

6. Cultivators think that such crops as sugarcane and potatoes cannot be grown owing to the depredations of pigs; but although the number of guns in the district is considerable, the people take very little trouble to shoot the pigs or drive them away. Again, the smallness of the area under *rabi* crops is often attributed to cattle which, after the rains, are turned loose to graze freely on the unfenced fields. The number of pounds is indeed inadequate and, if more were provided, the owners would perhaps take measures to prevent their cattle from straying on cropped land. The cost of fencing is beyond the means of the cultivators in a district where, owing to the ravages of white ants, fences have to be renewed every year, and where impermeable hedges cannot be grown.

7. **Page 19.**—The amount of interest taken by the settlement staff in crops can be gauged from the recorded fact that trial cutting carried out by them indicated an average outturn of 16 maunds of paddy per acre in the Sadar subdivision and only

15 maunds in Vishnupur subdivision. No attempt is made to reconcile this with the fact that the eastern half of Vishnupur subdivision is far more fertile than any other part of the district.

Paragraph 10.—This district contains 805,170 people who are dependent on the land for their livelihood, and of these persons no less than 215,234, or 27 per cent., are landless labourers. This is a very depressing fact, and is due to the careless and thoughtless disposition of the Santals and other aborigines who are good workers but lacking in acquisitiveness or desire to retain what they possess. That with which they part so readily is eagerly snapped up by money-lending landlords, and the result is that 50 per cent. of the land is in the direct possession of proprietors and tenure-holders. Probably the most important feature of the Settlement Report is the exposure of the way in which the rights of the former cultivating proprietors and raiyats holding occupancy rights with low cash rents are being acquired by money-lending landlords who then proceed to settle the land with its former proprietors or occupancy raiyats at iniquitously high *sanja* rents. The same process is going on in Eastern Bengal and preparing the way for a great agricultural revolution, when the men who cultivate the land will refuse to submit any longer to the burdens imposed on them by unscrupulous money-lenders supported by the court of law. In Bankura the revolution may be longer delayed than in Eastern Bengal, because here the raiyats are more submissive; but a time will come when even they will turn, unless the money-lenders are prudent enough to make concessions and give more reasonable terms.

9. Mr. Robertson has shown in this report what a serious evil the *sanja* or produce rent is to the welfare of the district. It keeps the cultivator under an ever-increasing load of debt and prohibits any form of agricultural development. The serious dimensions already attained by this evil can be gauged from the fact that one-fourth of the settled raiyati land is held either on produce rent or on produce rent supplemented by a cash payment. Both of these kinds of rent are steadily increasing, and there can be no alternative but that either the cultivators must become slaves, or they must rise in rebellion and destroy their oppressors.

Paragraph 43.—The accuracy of the statement made by Mr. Robertson that all chaukidari chakran lands in this district have been resumed under Act VI of 1870 is questionable. The resumption proceedings seem to have been conducted in a very perfunctory manner. Resumption Commissioners worked in addition to their ordinary duties and appear to have had no additional staff. It seems to have been thought that the panchayat would, in the interests of the villagers, report correctly about these chakran lands, but there is no doubt that in many cases chakran lands were not reported at all and, in other cases, inferior lands were entered instead of the land actually held by the chakran chaukidar. It is perhaps impossible to make good the loss thus incurred, but the mischief did not end there. No proper record appears to have been kept of the final decisions of the Chakran Commissioners. In fact, no one seems to have taken any interest in the matter. In one case, Mr. Robertson himself reported some defective resumption proceedings, but the action taken by the Collector on this report was inadequate, and Mr. Robertson reported no more.

Paragraph 44.—Even the Sahar tainati chaukidari chakran lands, which Mr. Robertson mentions as having been resumed in 1879 and made over to the Municipal Commissioners of Vishnupur, now yield only half the annual rent at which they were permanently assessed in 1879. The Municipal Commissioners were not even aware of this fact, but I have recently caused an enquiry to be instituted to trace and, if possible, recover the lost income.

Page 44.—Several pages of the report are devoted to a long and interesting account of the Ghatwali lands, and one fact that clearly emerges is that from the administrative point of view there was practically no difference between a Ghatwal and a chaukidar. In case of bad work, both of them were punished with fine or with dismissal. The only difference between the two was that a Ghatwal who retired or died was succeeded by a member of his family. A dismissed Ghatwal, however, was always succeeded by an outsider.

12. Like chaukidari chakran land, Ghatwali land was included in the malguzari land, but not assessed to revenue. In this district, most of the Ghatwali land was in small scattered plots. The services required from a Ghatwal were also exactly the same as those required from a chaukidar, and he was never taken far away from his home. In these circumstances, there is considerable force in the claim made by some panchayats that where Ghatwali land has been resumed half of the rental should be payable to the panchayat on account of the village chaukidari fund. In the villages where there were Ghatwals, there were no chaukidars, and the Ghatwals did the work which was done by chaukidars in other areas. There is much force in this contention of the panchayats, and the plea of limitation should not be considered a sufficient reply. If Government should give up to the panchayats or union boards the revenue derived from the settlement of Ghatwali lands, the concession would be a great relief to some of the poorest unions of this poor district.

13. In this connection mention may be made of what seems to have been a mistake made in preparing the record of shaukidari chakran lands. In the remarks column it is noted that the rent is payable to the "panchayat of union No. . . .". Since the record was prepared, the numbers and boundaries of the unions have been changed, and these remarks consequently are no longer correct. It would have been preferable and more strictly in accordance with the law if the note had been to the effect that the rent was payable to the shaukidari fund of a certain mauza. There would then have been no fear of subsequent confusion.

14. The system of land tenure in this district probably presents fewer complications than that in any other district of Bengal. There is but little subinfeudation; the number of under-raiyats is small, and transfer of holdings is freely allowed. If the people were more thrifty and less submissive, the prospects of improvements in their conditions would be brighter. It is to be hoped that they will learn to plan for the future and to co-operate with the other members of their own class, while avoiding conflict with other classes.

S. G. HART,

Collector of Bankura.

The 27th March 1927.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Land Revenue.

CALCUTTA, THE 20TH SEPTEMBER 1927.

RESOLUTION—No. 642T.R.

READ—

The Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Bankura.

Letter No. XXV-4—753, dated the 17th November 1926, from the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal, submitting the report.

Bankura is one of the poorest and most backward districts in the province. A distinctive feature of the population is the preponderance of the Sonthals and other aboriginal tribes in the western part of the district. Physically also this tract has a distinctive character showing the beginning of those rocks and dense forests which overspread the Sonthal Parganas and Ohota Nagpur. The settlement of the district was taken up largely with a view to protect these primitive tribes who were being ousted from their lands. The Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act of 1918 (Act II of 1918) imposes restrictions on the alienation of land by the Sonthals and Bhumijes, but the Act in question was passed too late to save a large proportion of these aborigines whose lands had already passed into the hands of Bengali Mahajans. Even in the subsequent period it has hardly had the effects anticipated from it, partly because it was not accompanied by the other reforms advocated in Mr. McAlpin's report which led to the passing of the Act, viz., the establishment of grain *golas* to lend rice instead of money to the Sonthals and the regular appointment of Sonthal-knowing officials. The story is a tragic one, but the report of Mr. F. W. Robertson, I.C.S., the Settlement Officer, shows that the ruin of the Sonthals is mainly due to the fact that owing to their illiteracy, improvidence and simplicity they can never cope with their more intelligent and shrewd neighbours with a higher standard of culture and literacy. Those who lost their lands either migrated to other districts or were reduced to the status of *bhagidars* and under-raiyats.

2. The area of the district is 2,647 square miles of which about one-fifth is covered by jungle. The population according to the Census of 1921 is 10,19,941 or 385 souls per square mile against the total of 11,38,670 or 434 souls per square mile according to the Census of 1911. This alarming decrease of 10 per cent. of the population in course of a decade has been attributed partly to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 which caused unprecedented loss of life, but mainly to malaria. The ravages of this disease are certainly increased by the extremely insanitary condition of the villages and the Governor in Council trusts that with the introduction of the Rural Public Health Organisation scheme it will be possible to effect an appreciable improvement in this direction.

3. Of the total population, 8,05,170 souls or 79 per cent. depend upon the land, 67 per cent. being actual cultivators and their dependants. But of the total area of the district only 47 per cent. is culturable, and even this moiety suffers so much from drought and unequal distribution of rainfall that a partial or total failure of crops occurs every third or fourth year. Even in a normal year, the Settlement Officer calculates that the total yield of paddy is barely sufficient to provide 84 per cent. of the population

with two meals a day. The improvement of the economic position of the district seems to depend on the reclamation of the higher plains and the provision of ample irrigation facilities for the remainder. Both subjects have been receiving the anxious consideration of the departments concerned, and also of various local associations. Since the settlement operations were completed many co-operative credit societies have been formed for the excavation and maintenance of irrigation tanks and wells. The Irrigation Department of Government have just opened a new division at Bankura with a wholetime Executive Engineer. The Governor in Council hopes that the joint and concerted endeavours of these two progressive departments will not take long to effect a real improvement of the situation. In the meantime arrangements have been made by the Agriculture and Industries Department to start co-operative grain *godas*.

4. Though not a single plot of land has been recorded as proprietor's private land under chapter XI of the Bengal Tenancy Act it is surprising to find that very nearly half of the area of the district is in direct possession of the landlords and the other half is held by the cultivating raiyats and under-raiyats, the latter holding only 4 per cent. of the area 16 per cent. of the area is held by raiyats on produce rent and 9 per cent. on mixed cash and produce rent i.e., one-fourth of the whole area of the district is held on produce rent in some shape. This abnormal disparity in the distribution of land and the large proportion of produce rent tenancies are the direct effects of alienation of lands by the aborigines who are now reduced to the status of mere labourers. This state of things is undoubtedly wrong, but it is probably too late to devise any practicable remedy.

5. Over 10 per cent. of the area is held by the raiyats at fixed rates and most of the under-raiyats have got occupancy rights by custom, and even fixity of rent. The incidence of rent of occupancy raiyats is only Rs. 1-12-7 per acre. This is perhaps the lowest on record in Bengal, but it is partly due to the general unproductivity of the soil.

6. Traverse survey began in 1914-15, but the operations were stopped on account of the great European War and restarted in 1917-18. They were completed in the year 1924-25. The subdivision of Asansol in the district of Burdwan was included in the operations to meet the wishes of the Mining and Geological Institute for accurate 4" maps of the coal area. The total cost of the operations was estimated at Rs. 28,62,218, but the Settlement Officer is to be congratulated, on managing to complete the operations at a cost of Rs. 28,39,894 despite the increase of prices due to the war. Recovery of costs was satisfactory and only about half per cent. of the recoverable amount had to be remitted. The Governor in Council desires to place on record his high appreciation of the services of Mr. F. W. Robertson, I.C.S., who in spite of many difficulties organised and carried through the operation in this backward and inhospitable district with efficiency. The good services rendered by the Assistant Settlement Officers specially commended by the Settlement Officer will be brought to the notice of the Appointment Department.

By order of the Governor in Council,

F. A. SACHSE,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

